

THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

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Howe hoping to persuade Botha

IGNORING the findings of the CommonwealthEminent Persons' Group that Pretoria is in no mood to negotiate, Sir Geoffrey owe is going to South Africa to try to establish a framework for dialogue between blacks and whites to end apartheid. The Labour spokesman, Mr Denis haley, forecast that the British Foreign Secretary would return "waving a scap of paper and proclaiming peace in our time". At Mrs Thatcher's insistencethe EEC summit refused to call for sanctions against South Africa. In Britain, aGallup poll showed 62 per cent of people believed the Prime Minister supportd the whites, whereas virtually the same percentage said they supported the blcks.

Europe ducks the issue

APARTHEID'S capacity to divide and rule now constantly extends itself beyond South Africa to dominate and disrupt international forums which ought to be united against it. The latest victim of this diplomatic malaise is the European Community summit in The Hague which came to such an ignominious end last week. Apartheid itself is not to blame, but rather those shielding it on the grounds of short-term self-interest, and those who, like the French, conceal their concurrence by letting others occupy centre-stage. In The Hague the anti-sanctions lobby consisted of Mrs Thatcher, backed by the West Germans and the Portuguese (who have a large national minority in South Africa). It is of course no coincidence that those with the biggest financial stake in South Africa — Britain, America, Germany — and the most lucrative trade with it — Germany, America, Britain — are most reluctant to impose sanctions. Each has a conservative government dependent on business support and is thus serving the vested interests of its most important political constituency. Each leader may believe that she or he will not be in office when the wind of change completes its work in Africa and blows apartheid away. Facing the likely bitterness of an eventual black government at the Cape will be a task for others.

So it's no sanctions now but perhaps a few in three months, and meanwhile yet another bridgebuilding mission by Sir Geoffrey Howe in his capacity (from this week as President of the European Council o Ministers. Sir Geoffrey's ability to get th most out of unfavourable circumstances not to be underestimated (see Hong Kon and Gibraltar), but he has at least two ne handicaps this time. He no longer believ in his leader's policy of perpetual procra nation and Botha's rejection of mediation by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group was an unmistakable signal that he has turned his back on negotiation with the black majority. The one probably derives from the other. If Botha does not embrace the African National Congress before the deadline set by the Twelve, they will (but only if their ensuing consultations lead to complete agreement) ban new investment and imports of coal, steel and gold coins. The first has long since ceased under the influence of market forces and sheer common sense, and the rest are items of which the Community already has an embarrassing superabundance.

ow that the Community has opted out, the sanctions debate moves on to the mini-summit of Commonwealth leaders in London in four weeks, where action on the EPG report calling for "measures" to forestall a rist holocaust will be considered. Although this is likely to be a much livelier air in the light of threats to walk out and pose sanctions on Britain, the fatal flaw the arrangements is the same as evailed at The Hague: the Commonwealth, like the Community and the UN ecurity Council where Britain has a veto, perates on the principle of unanimity, which plays into the hands of Mrs Thatcher as the world's leading practitioner of expediency disguised as righteous intransigence. British trade with the rest of Africa is greater than with South Africa, and black Africa would find it easier to cut its trade links with Britain than with South Africa. If the Commonwealth's African members have the will to take advantage of these facts, the British government might yet be persuaded to take a different view of where its real interests lie.

Reports, pages 6 and 7

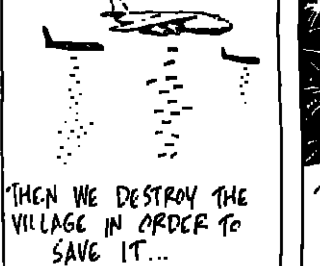


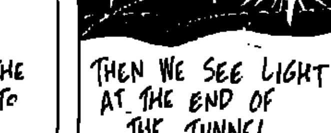
"Have a lovely trip — and do m... clear to them that you haven't come waving a big stick!"

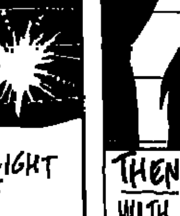














Congress for the Contras

PRESIDENT REAGAN, the great manipulator, has done it again. In spite of persistent majorities in the opinion polls against the arming of the Nicaraguan contras, he has persuaded more than half the United States Congress to go along with the plan. Perhaps it would have been different if Western European governments which disagree with his Central American policy had been less timid in declaring their views publicly. The feeling that Central America is the United States' backyard, in which it must be allowed to do what it likes, dies hard in the corridors of Whitehall, the Quai d'Orsay, and the Auswaertiges Amt. Chancellor Kohl, at least, might have said something since it is only two weeks since twelve West Germans, kidnapped by the "contras", were finally released. (Had twelve Americans been held hostage by guerrillas organised, financed, and armed by West Germany, one can imagine the cries of "terrorism" which would have resounded from Washington).

Perhaps protests from Europe would not have worked anyway. The mood in which the Congress and the President view Central America is now irredeemably suffused with the perceived need to stand tall against Communism, particularly Communism of the invisible variety, since that is the most dangerous kind. The less that other people seem to see the danger, the firmer and quicker the lone trigger-finger must be.

By arming the contras the Congress has effectively declared war on Nicaragua. One of the smallest stages on the continent is now under mortal threat from the largest. More young Nicaraguans will now be killed. Its economy will be further ravaged, and the pathetically low standard of living of its people will be reduced. At the diplomatic level, the Congressional vote will snuff out the last flickering signs of life in the Contadora negotiations.

Nicaragua is in no way a threat to the United States. It has held elections which were freer of violence and less spoiled by intimidation, and which offered a wider range of ideological choices than most elections in the region. It has pledged not to accept foreign bases, either for nuclear or conventional weapons, on its territ... and has offered to sign a treaty with th... ...ed States to that effect. Its only danger to Washington is that it sets an example of independence which has been lacking for decades in the Central American isthmus.

The definition of independence is that countries be able to choose forms of government which their neighbours object to. That is the fundamental principle which a majority in Congress has been unable or unwilling to understand or accept. Looked at in this light, it is hardly surprising that Mr Reagan was able to win his money for the contras. Most Congressmen have opposed him on pragmatic grounds. Will aid to the contras drive the Sandinistas into Moscow's arms? Is it the best way to put pressure on Managua? Should economic sanctions be allowed more time to take effect? Will American troops eventually be sucked in? Few Congressmen have dared to take a stand on the basic issue of whether the United States has the right to interfere in a far away country's internal affairs. Few have dared to say that Reagan is wrong.

INSIDE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sweeping up the Star Wars crumbs

So at last the Star Wars crumbs for Britain have been made public.

The £1 billion worth of contracts laughably aimed at by Michael Heseltine last December before he signed the Memorandum of Understanding has dwindled to the pitiful sum of £10 million. For this pittance, the British Government's support for the Strategic Defence Initiative has been relentlessly hyped in Washington by Pentagon Star Warriors desperate to shore up their flagging and impractical programme.

To offset this image of Britain's acquiescence the Coalition Against Star Wars (CASW) was launched last week: it consists of peace, environment, development, scientific, medical and church groups. At its launch, Neil Kinnock detailed Labour Party opposition to Star Wars; and statements from David Steel and David Owen showed the extent of opposition to SDI from the leaders of the Alliance.

It is the Coalition's view that musing over unobtainable astrodomes is not the way to render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete". On the contrary, it will result in an unprecedented arms race as the Soviets build more missiles to swamp the imperfect defence system, the West "catches up", the Soviets build their own SDI, etc etc.

Now that this programme is under increasing attack in the United States it really is time for the British Government to change its stance on Star Wars, cancelling the Memorandum of Understanding and negotiating a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty — not only to cap the arms race but also to kill off the nuclear explosion-powered X-ray laser programme so important to SDI.

However, given Mrs Thatcher's lack of a resolution when it comes even to snapping at President Reagan's heels, we will doubtless have to wait until the next government, be it Labour or Alliance. Withdrawal from SDI in 1987-88 will strengthen enormously the efforts of Americans working hard to kill Star Wars when the new Administration comes to power in 1989 — when thankfully the Force of the Teflon Wizard will no longer be with us.

Colin Hines,
Greenpeace,
London N1.

The wisdom of Shankly

In your leader on the World Cup you pose the question of whether football is so important that it dictates the nation's perception of itself. The late Bill Shankly provided the answer when he commented that football is not a matter of life and death — it is more important than that!

On the same subject, my six-year-old daughter recently announced to my wife that we had a picture of God in the house. On returning from the bookcase she presented her not with the Bible, but with Bill Shankly's autobiography.

John Kirkwood,
Sheffield.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Manchester Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19, Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 1DD, England.

Pessimistic look in the World Cup mirror

Maradona's handling of the ball into the English goal and the tolerant reactions to it of the England manager, your correspondent David Lacey and television commentators like Kevin Keegan ("All pros do it") throw much light on the symbolic meanings being purveyed by this most popular of international spectator sports.

The consensual view seems to be that responsibility for observance of football's rules lies not with players or managers, but with referees and those who appoint them. It seems to be reasonable to criticise FIFA for employing inexperienced officials from Third World countries, but not the privileged young players who take advantage of them.

To be sure, this attitude of "realism" causes moral discomfort. If Maradona's hand-ball is understandable and no particular discredit to him, shouldn't the same tolerance be extended to the Brazilian goalkeeper's foul on Bellone, the French player who would otherwise have scored; or, come to that, to the Uruguayans' attempt to kick Scotland out of the competition? Where can one draw the line between one opportunist — "professional", it is called, inverting the ethical meaning of the term — foul and another.

Football may be a truthful expression of a wider social climate. In this, responsibility for ethical behaviour lies outside the individual, in the framework of surveillance or sanctions which make misdeeds — whether burglary or fraud — profitable or not; especially this is so when money and status are at stake.

The current spectacle may unwittingly reveal some of the deepest — if most contradictory — values of a competitive, international enterprise culture. Seeing our society reflected in this mirror, we should be less surprised by its propensity to crime and disorder.

Michael Rustin,
NE London Polytechnic.

Paraguayan experience

There is little doubt that during the colonial period Paraguay was one of the largest Spanish possessions in the region. It was actually colonised before Argentina and Uruguay. However, its geographical position contributed to isolate it from the outside world, particulary at a time when the only means of communication with the main trade routes were either slow convoys of "carretas" or via the Rio Parana and the Rio de la Plata.

Your Leader (June 29) accurately notes that Voltaire was opposed to the establishment by the Jesuits of the famous Misiones. However, these protected the native Guaranies from the economic exploitation — really slavery — of the Spanish and Portuguese colonists (apart from teaching them to build churches, music and so on). Voltaire's criticisms perhaps were another example of the well-meaning, but mistaken, attempts of European intellectuals to understand the realities of developing countries while relying on incomplete information? It seems to me that you overestimate the influence of Britain on the political and economic development of the region. It is doubtful whether Britain ever exercised economic "control" over any of the countries in the region. The main policy of Her Majesty's Government seems to have been to keep ports open for British commerce without discrimination. In the case of Paraguay this meant ensuring the free navigation of the rivers, and this could only have benefited the country.

I wonder how you support your statement that Britain plotted together with Argentina and Brazil (Uruguay was a minor partner in this crime) to fight the war of the Triple Alliance? This is still an important issue in South America. If there were any predators stalking Paraguay these were much nearer to its borders and did not need encouragement from Whitehall.

Finally, how do you justify your reference to Uruguay as a "miserable mini-state"? Although it is 48 times smaller than Brazil, it is still larger than England, Belgium and a few other countries. We Uruguayans may be "cynical and brutal, but talented" at football, but certainly not miserable.

(Dr) Juan Oribe Stemmer,
Princes Street,
Cardiff.

Knocking on Britain's door

What nonsense. "A million South Africans entitled to settle in Britain" (June 29). Since the 1960s successive British governments have continually reneged on their promises to Commonwealth citizens. The Nationality Act of 1948 gave British citizenship to all who were citizens of any Commonwealth country.

Since 1962 successive British governments have introduced legislation that has taken away the right of most Commonwealth citizens (all black) to enter Britain. The 1984 Nationality Act is a further refinement of this position. Now it is possible that East African Asians have no right of entry into any country outside the one that they reside in at present.

It is perfectly feasible for the Government to restrict the right of entry of the estimated million South African citizens who appear to have right of entry . . . But that couldn't happen; after all they are "white". British Immigration Law is inherently racist and only seeks to restrict black Commonwealth citizens from entering.

(Rev) C. Halliday,
Manchester.

SDP gains

Whatever the overall validity of your Leader's cautionary tale (June 29) for the Alliance, the evidence you quote is flawed.

Liberal and SDP candidates made 321 net gains in the May local elections, exceeding our ambitious target of 300 and, according to the very comprehensive analysis of votes by the Economist, improved still further on our excellent 1985 figure. Labour, by contrast, dropped slightly despite this year's contests taking place in its strongholds. If that was a disappointment, let's have more of them.

Your thesis is also flawed. You suggest that the Alliance is winning fewer votes from Labour than from the Conservatives. Does it not occur to you that, taking 1983 as base, there were many fewer Labour votes to take?

Surely the fact, demonstrated by the latest Marplan poll, that former Conservatives come to us rather than crossing over to Labour by a factor of 4:1, is evidence of the failure of the Kinnock revival. We tend to win seats that would otherwise be Conservative with votes that would otherwise be Labour, and vice-versa. The 1985 and 1986 local elections witnessed the former, but 1987 may achieve both.

I am sure we all accept your strictures on the merits of unity. That is why we await with such anticipation the conversion of Messrs Healey and Hattersley to the unilaterialism of their leader.

Paul Tyler,
(Chairman, the Liberal Party),
London SW1.

Who cares about 'isms'?

Waldemar Januszczak's review of British Art since 1900 (June 15) betrays a touch of the arrogance which makes enthusiasts for Modernism the worst enemies of their own cause. Hero-worshipping the aggressive avant-garde can be just as "escapist" as losing yourself in a nostalgic rural mist. Both make pretty effective ways of running away from the normal concerns, fears and celebrations of human life.

Or is it just living on the other side of the world that makes this obsession with taking sides in an ideological war (Modernism vs. Bourgeois Sentimentalism) seem so dated — more Age of Baldwin than Age of Thatcher?

Peter Gauld,
Kismis Avenue, Singapore.

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In brief . . .

AN East German couple created false identities and amassed spying equipment in preparation for espionage against Britain, an Old Bailey jury heard this week.

They had been furnished with a flamboyant array of forged documents and elaborate cover stories when police raided their home near Heathrow airport last August and found devices which could encode, de-code, send and receive messages to and from the German Democratic Republic, it was claimed.

Mr Reinhardt Schulze, aged 33, an interior designer, and his wife, Sonja, 36, a technical translator, denied three charges under section one of the Official Secrets Act, but pleaded guilty to two offences under the Forgery and Counterfeiting Act of possessing a forged British passport and a forged West German identity card.

* * *

Mr John Paul Getty II paid £1,375,000 at Sotheby's last week for four medieval manuscript pages illustrating the life of St Thomas à Becket. Mr Getty said: "It was important to me that it should be kept in this country." The treasure, lavishly illustrated, had come for sale from Europe and would not have needed an export licence to leave Britain.

Defence cuts listed

By Alan Travis

THE Defence Secretary, Mr George Younger, this week announced the first "front line" defence cuts of the Conservative Government, with projects for all three armed services cancelled or delayed.

After seven years of continuous growth in defence spending under Mrs Thatcher's Government, Mr Younger announced the first in a series of "difficult decisions" to meet the 1.5 per cent per year decline in defence spending over the next three years.

In the case of the Navy, plans have been cancelled to fit new submarine detection sonars to the Type 22 frigates.

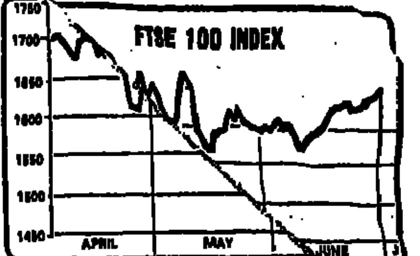
For the RAF, Mr Younger said: "Some adjustments are likely to the timescale and production quantities for some weapons systems." This is likely to mean that the Government is to delay ordering a second batch of 18 new Harrier GR5 jump jet aircraft. A decision will be taken before the end of the year.

The RAF will also be hit b "short delay" in the build up of Tornado GR1 reconnaissance f because of a diversion of Torr ground attack aircraft and w ons to support the major sale such aircraft to Saudi Arabia.

Unexpectedly, Mr Younger included the Army in this first package of frontline cutbacks indicating that the Ministry of Defence will not proceed with the Law Mine, which is a light anti-tank weapon, and will also reduce provision for future mines.

Mr Younger said that other difficult decisions will be necessary. "We will take these as and when we have to, but clearly I shall be having to take the greatest care when deciding on the size and timing of all orders for the foreseeable future. There is no question of wholesale deferrals."

MPs, particularly those from shipbuilding constituencies, are very concerned about the new orders for Type 23 frigates, which are to be announced before August. Up to three new frigates had been expected to have been ordered to maintain 50 escorts in the destroyer-frigate fleet, and Mr Younger fuelled speculation that only one or two would be ordered.



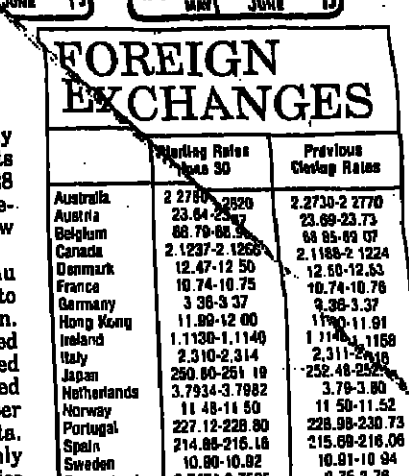
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Oil cheaper

By John Hooper

CRUDE Oil prices slipped early this week after Opec adjourned its summer conference till July 28 without attempting to reach agreement on how to share out new production limits.

The chairman, Mr Rilwanu Lukman of Nigeria, appealed to ministers to keep output down. But the minister for the United Arab Emirates, Dr Mana Saeed Al-Otaiba, said the UAE intended to continue to produce over 50 per cent more than its existing quota. Agreement was reached — if only by a majority — on a target price range of $17 to $20 a barrel, compared with present levels of $11 to $12.



FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates June 30	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2 2780-2820	2.2730-2 2770
Austria	23.64-[illegible]	23.69-23.73
Belgium	68.79-[illegible]	68 85-69 07
Canada	2.1237-2.1266	2.1188-2 1224
Denmark	12.47-12 50	12.50-12.53
France	10.74-10.75	10.74-10.76
Germany	3 36-3 37	3.36-3.37
Hong Kong	11.89-12 00	[illegible]-11.91
Ireland	1.1130-1.1140	[illegible]-1.1158
Italy	2.310-2.314	2,311-[illegible]
Japan	250.80-251 19	252.48-[illegible]
Netherlands	3.7934-3.7982	3.79-3.80
Norway	11 48-11 50	11 50-11.52
Portugal	227.12-228.80	228.98-230.73
Spain	214.86-216.16	215.69-216.06
Sweden	10.90-10.92	10.91-10 94
Switzerland	2.7484-2.7525	2 75-2 76
USA	1 5330-1.5340	1.5265-1.5280
ECU	1 5661-1.5680	1 5694-1 5713
FT 30 Share Index 1387·1	Gold $347.50	

Branson claims Blue Riband

By Paul Brown

THE POP music entrepreneur and airline boss Mr Richard Branson, fresh from his record crossing of the Atlantic, was told that he would not receive the coveted Blue Riband trophy because he had made the trip in a "toy boat" rather than an ocean liner.

In turn, Mr Branson put a brave face on the rather cutting remarks by the curator of the American Merchant Marine Museum, Mr Frank Braynard, and said it was the challenge that counted.

However, Mr Branson, whose boat Virgin Atlantic Challenger II was sporting a five-foot blue riband, revealed that he had been hunting for relatives of the original donor of the Hales Trophy in an attempt to get his hands on it. The trophy's donor was Hales Owen, a wealthy shipping enthusiast and MP for Hanley, who gave the trophy in 1935 to encourage craft and speed and mechanical perfection. "There is no doubt this is what he would have wanted."

Mr Branson's time clipped 2 hours 9 minutes off the previous record of 3 days 10 hours and 40 minutes, set by the liner United States in 1952, after three "pit stops" for refuelling in mid-ocean.

Rex Warner, a double life

By Laurence Lerner

THE thirties generation are now in their 80s, like the century. Stephen Spender is still alive and vigorous, but Auden has gone, MacNeice, Day Lewis — and now, at the age of 81, Rex Warner.

Quite a number of Warner's early poems are political in a rather fierce way: "The comfortable doctrine is now open war." He even went so far as to conclude his Hymn by wishing "All Power to lovers of life, to workers, to the hammer, the sickle, and blood."

If they were all like that he would be an all too representative figure, confined to the literary histories, but he was also a talented and sometimes a brilliant poet who could begin a stanza "Wind, shoveller of seas, shuffler of leaves," or could write of "the pale of pearl, nip, clip of dawn, On cold coasts curling over the grey waves."

At their best, Warner's poems convey the same sense of unease as Auden's, the same physical awareness of a world where we take "our slow steps in and out the ruined city."

Warner may have been less well-known as a political poet than other members of the Auden generation, but he was much better known as a novelist. He, more than anyone, was the man who introduced Kafka into the British novel. But it was a diluted political Kafka, less bewildering, less deeply disturbing, but (perhaps) just as pessimistic.

After the war Rex Warner built himself a second career as a translator of the classics and an occasional academic. This has to be seen as a withdrawal from political commitment, which he shared not only with Auden but with so many of his generation, and to pass judgment on that is to reveal one's own political values.

His translations were widely read and loved, his academic life was distinguished, but inevitably his second career contrasts with the first. He took a wise decision, surely, in realising that he had no more to say in his earlier vein; but if he had not written those early poems and novels we would not be noticing his death as we are now.

Last Rhondda pit closes

Maerdy Colliery, the only pit left in the Rhondda, where early in the century 50 collieries employing 40,000 men produced 10 million tonnes of coal a year, closed this week. The President of the NUM, Mr Arthur Scargill, called on miners at the annual conference at Tenby to take industrial action "sooner rather than later" to protect the coal industry from further disintegration. His remarks were received with little enthusiasm.

Farms alerted to danger of radioactive feed

By Andrew Veitch

FARMERS who store grass from fields contaminated by the Chernobyl cloud will be feeding their cattle with radioactive silage this winter, a senior official warned last week.

Unless action is taken next year's milk and meat from high radiation areas in Scotland, North Wales and Cumbria will be contaminated by caesium, it emerged.

"There will be caesium in the silage this winter, and there will be caesium in milk and meat next year," said Dr Mike O'Riordan, head of the radiation measurement unit at the National Radiological Protection Board: "I would not like to predict the effect on people," he added.

Despite the danger, a Ministry of Agriculture spokesman said there were no plans to warn farmers against storing contaminated grass.

"We will monitor the feed," he said. "We recognise there will be some levels in the silage this winter. Caesium has a 30-year half life. We will monitor produce for as long as necessary."

The threat emerged after German physicists reported last week that caesium and "hot" beta-emitting particles would accumulate in barns and silos, endangering farmers and their children.

"They can be expected to be trapped permanently in the lungs of individuals exposed to contaminated hay," the physicists warned in the science magazine Nature.

The precise effects on the body of the 1-2 micron particles are not known, but the German scientists' calculations suggest that cancer may be a threat — particles are far more lethal than caesium, they said.

The isotopes stick to the grass despite drying at 130 degrees C and vigorous shaking for 24 hours, their experiments show.

The warning that farmers and their children were in danger was "nonsense" said Dr O'Riordan. "The concentrations are too low," he explained. Hot beta-particles which concentrated radiation on one spot of the body posed less of a threat than substances which spread radiation through the body, he added.

• The fresh lamb market in the UK has collapsed after the emergency measures introduced by the Government last week, banning the movement and slaughter of sheep in parts of North Wales, Cumbria and Scotland, after the Chernobyl disaster.

The New Zealand Meat Board meanwhile began a £750,000 promotion campaign to try to boost New Zealand lamb sales in the UK, while the food store chain Fine Fare halved its prices of lamb across Cumbria because of the radiation scare.

'No retreat' from nuclear age

By David Fairhall

IT WOULD be irresponsible of Britain to abandon nuclear power in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster, the Energy Secretary, Mr Peter Walker, said last week in a speech apparently aimed at stiffening the Government's resolve to press ahead with the Sizewell B nuclear power station in Suffolk.

People were right to question the safety of nuclear power, Mr Walker said, but they must also face the possibility of lower living standards if a world shortage of electrical energy led to uncontrollable recession in the industrialised countries.

"If we care about the standards of living of generations yet to come, we must meet the challenge of the nuclear age and not retreat into the irresponsible course of leaving our children and grandchildren a world in deep and probably irreversible decline," he told the Engineering Employers' Federation in London.

Britain was unusually well placed, he conceded, with its own supplies of coal, oil and gas, but he did not believe it could escape the consequences of a wider energy crisis prompted by the absence of nuclear power in the next century.

If it had its own nuclear programme it would not only have an alternative supply but be able to exploit the world market for nuclear systems along with the French, the Germans, the Japanese and the Americans.

Mr Walker's well-publicised speech may well have been intended to steady the nerves of his Cabinet colleagues as well as implying that political opponents of nuclear power are merely looking for votes.

Labour's shadow energy secretary, Mr Stan Orme, claimed afterwards that if it was an attempt to convince the British people of the benefits of nuclear power, the Tory minister had "failed miserably."

The next Labour Government would not order any additions to nuclear capacity, Mr Orme said, but would concentrate instead on natural resources, on oil, gas, coal, and renewable fuels, and on a real rather than a cosmetic conservation programme.

In his speech, Mr Walker claimed to be a vigorous advocate of energy conservation, and forecast that an investment of £20-£30 billion in more efficient energy technologies could reduce the UK's demand by 20 per cent.

Busker's discordant note

By Andrew Moncur

A BUSKER'S squeeze-box has finally overwhelmed one of the mightiest organs known to sacred music and Cambridge college choirs: Dr George Guest's ear.

Dr Guest, university organist, distinguished director of the St John's College choir, special commissioner to the Royal School of Church Music and a former Royal Academy professor of harmony, has started to hum.

He has complained about the music being made outside his window by a solitary Cambridge busker with a melodeon.

Now, the city council is trying to restore a little harmony by balancing the musical interests of Dr Guest, busker Chris Tabvecki and the market traders who have put their names to a petition asking that the melodeon should be allowed to play on.

"One man's music is another man's noise nuisance," said Mr Michael Dimambro, the city's environmental health officer, who has the task of resolving the discord.

The answer: Mr Tabecki is being asked not to play on weekdays outside St John's College, where Dr Guest has been a Fellow since 1956. He may continue to perform there on Saturday's when there is unlikely to be anybody about to take offence.

Australian vineyard treading nouveau ground

By Andrew Moncur

AUSTRALIANS probably wouldn't give a XXXX, but 26,400 bottles of Chateau Kindilan 1986 have arrived in Britain, threatening to foster a fashion — the taste for Aussie Nouveau.

In the familiar Australian manner, it has come to these shores young, fruity, and full-bodied with the aim of being frequently drunk and found in scores of off-licence premises.

It is, in fact, very young. The new Kindilan, described as the first red wine of 1986, was only made in March and appears here a full five months ahead of the better-known Beaujolais version which is received with the annual ritual in November.

A container load of 2,200 cases has been shipped from Clare Valley, South Australia, to the shelves of more than 200 wine stores. It comes to the Poms with few pretensions and at a price (£2.99 a bottle) which should help consumers to get a few down before going under.

"Drunk chilled, it has a very nice, fruity taste. It's very full, whereas Beaujolais is inclined to be a little bit thin; it has a good, round, strawberry taste. It is a good quaffing wine and that's how you should drink it," said a modest Mr Nick Greenland, commercial director of Peter Dominic.

"If it goes well it could start a fashion. You will get nouveau from all over — from New Zealand. . . ."

Or Syria. Or Bulgaria. Or Turkey. Not to mention Wirrabara, Yongala, Koolunga and other outposts of the cafe society around Mount Remarkable, South Australia.

Last year they sprang the Aussie Nouveau on the French, of all people, who seem to have regarded it with a sort of patronising good humour. They may not have realised that the Kindilan wine is made by an exiled Alsatian, called Michel Dietrrich, in the high-tech manner at Clare Valley's Quelltaler vineyards.

This involves sealing the grapes in containers, flushing them with carbon dioxide and generally making a wine fit to drink with almost indecent haste.

"We have out-Frenched the French, if you like," said Mr Greenland.

While engineers are doing well if they earn £12,000 a year, salaries in the City of London are going through the roof. Jane McLoughlin investigates.

The City's new rich

THERE is something obscene about some gilded youth earning £100,000 a year and more in his early twenties for buying and selling other people's money. At least, there is to someone who spent a socially blighted adolescence studying maths and physics, three years at university with his nose to the grindstone, and then perhaps another year's vocational training just to consider himself well paid if he is earning £12,000 a year by the time he is 30.

But why? Why not "nice work if you can get it"?

The man from the Engineering Training Board said it all: "You cannot compare people who make their money in the City with those in a respectable profession. Put against people like architects or lawyers, engineers don't do too badly."

But that youthful Midas in the City, gobbling his jam roly-poly pudding and custard at high speed at some monkish trestle at an eating place in the Square Mile, will argue that he earns every penny he makes. Blood and guts, that's what it takes — indigestion and fear of reaching 30 and the big burn-out. In the office by 7.30am and not out before 9pm most nights.

Reports of the kind of salaries paid to callow youths in the smallish community which makes up the City of London are often underestimates.

This week, Smith New Court financial services group published figures showing that the average basic salary of its directors (excluding the boss) is between £90,000 and £95,000 this year. On top of this, they will get at least £40,000 in bonus and commission. The highest paid directors will take home £194,000 this year. The favoured few get much more than this in other firms. Often it is paid in US dollars, and not all of it is taxable.

Fiona Stephens, of the specialist City headhunters Stephens Associates, said that no one is actually earning the £1 million a year sometimes reported. "They may be on £100,000 basic, and bring it up to £200,000 or £250,000 with bonuses or commission. The other £750,000 is compensation, the buying out of partners if a bank takes over a firm, or it's paid to the marzipan level, people who are not partners, but who have a particular ability. And it's often spread over two or three years."

It sounds like a lot of money in comparison with an up-and-coming design engineer, who will start at between £8,000 and £12,000 a year depending on his field of expertise. It still sounds, frankly, like some con trick played on everyone else who dedicates a third of their three score years and ten to "worthy" work.

"Your top class engineer has to go into line management if he wants to make more money. His highest position as an engineer — director of engineering — isn't particularly lucrative. Top whack £20,000 to £25,000," according to the Income Data Service salary research group.

The National Economic Development Office prepared a report a year or so ago in which the shortage of skilled engineers was discussed. The dangers of this shortage were obvious — British firms were liable to import penetration; innovation was inhibited; what investment there was was spent on mechanisation rather than innovation . . . but there was also a curious anomoly in the gospel of maket forces. In engineering, the report found, market forces arising from a shortage of engineers in fields like electronics and information technology had not led to higher initial salaries.

In the City, on the other hand, market forces had a field day. There was a slump in the money markets in the early to mid-1970s. Some stockbroking firms made up to 40 per cent of their staff redundant. The profession moved away from the traditional old school tie network. London awoke from the torpor induced by operating in a single domestic market. Suddenly there was talk of 24-hour market trading around the world, and London had to compete on the international markets with the rest.

On top of that, there's Big Bang. From October 27 this year, the Stock Exchange will be deregulated — fixed commission will be abandoned, and the distinction between the broker and the jobber (those who take orders from clients and those who make the market in shares) will disapear. As in America and Japan, the banks and institutions have had to become vast financial multinationals, and supermarkets as well.

The British banks and institutions, which had a lot of catching up to do, began to buy in the best traders and analysts money could buy. They had to pay through the nose to do so, the objects of their desire knew exactly how much their would-be employers needed them.

As part of this, the banks took over firms with the expertise they needed, say, in retailing. They had to buy out the partners, and reward the key analysts commensurately with that compensation. At the same time, this merry life is likely to be a short one. It's a high-risk business, like gambling, and the money is dependent on performance. Success reaps rewards, but the wages of failure are instant death.

These new market millionaires are like footballers, bought in to star and take the team to the top of the league. The engineer, translating his creativity into a product, something tangible, may scorn a group of people who simply shift other people's money around.

The difference shows in political terms. To a man, the City votes Tory and fears a Labour government which might clip their wings. Of course self-interest is involved, but if vast foreign investment fled from what is now a contender in international markets, the British financial structure might become irrelevant. Opportunities for playing a game these people love like an obsession would be over.

The engineer's case is far less simple. Whether he likes it or not, his is a "socialist" profession. Other people's jobs depend on his. One reason for his low salary expectation surely has something to do with the strength of the unions on the engineering shopfloor. The average mechnical engineering worker earns perhaps £170 a week; how can his boss justify a disproportionately higher salary for himself?

The engineer is, generally, a man feeling responsible for investing in the future. His satisfaction comes in making something of benefit to other people.

This is a cry from your City money spinner. His satisfactions are transient and doomed. He must think fast, trusting his instinct. He cannot plan the future or take anything for granted.

It is dangerous to forget that these often obnoxious young people are the thin end of the wedge which gave this country Drake and Raleigh and Sir Philip Sidney, and opened up centuries of international trade which provided the basis of the British Empire.

Let engineers and others of their ilk take heart — for if the American experience is repeated here, quite a large number of these latter-day adventurers will succumb to the huge temptations and do a stretch inside.

Irish voters reject divorce reform

By Joe Joyce in Dublin

[illegible] rejected the introduction of divorce in a referendum seen as the most important test in decades of the republic's attitude towards minorities and the influence of the Catholic Church on the country's civil law.

The final figures, showed 538,279 (36·5 per cent) in favour of the change and 935,842 (63·5 per cent) against. The turnout was just over 59 per cent. The majority, approaching two to one against, has raised questions about the future of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and cast doubt on the political future of the Irish Prime Minister, Dr Garret FitzGerald.

Dr FitzGerald scotched speculation that he would retire from politics — as he once promised if people rejected his belief in a pluralist society that could accommodate Northern protestants. "The fact that one has a setback is no reason not to continue on the course that one has set oneself," he said. He denied that he or his Fine Gael party had been damaged and said he intended to lead the party into the next general election.

Nonetheless, the extent of the defeat — well beyond any government supporters' worst expectations — is bound to have a demoralising and destabilising effect on the ruling coalition. Internal tensions within Fine Gael and between it and Labour were already apparent as recriminations began.

The outcome was a direct reversal of the first opinion polls of the campaign two months ago, which showed 61 per cent in favour and 39 per cent against. The outcome mirrored closely the result of the anti-abortion refe[illegible] The level of support for [illegible] carried [illegible] been thought to be much [illegible] 1983 [illegible] had only because of the r[illegible] if widespread incidence of ma[illegible] breakdown.

Only five constituencies, mostly in South Dublin, showed a majority for divorce. The Dublin area as a whole was fractionally in favour, but rural areas were staunchly against. The largest majority in favour — 59 per cent — was in the Dun Laoghaire suburb of Dublin. At the other extreme, the rural area of Galway East voted by 78 per cent against. Ballot boxes from some rural areas [illegible] single vote for divorce.

Some of Dr FitzGerald's supporters found themselves in rare agreement with Dr Ian Paisley's [illegible]mocratic Unionist Party, which [illegible]ted the result as proof that [illegible] Republic remained the [illegible] of Catholic nationalism [illegible] A state which is not [illegible] rights of [illegible] trust and respect the [illegible] individual is not to be trusted itself [illegible] DUP said. [illegible]pokesman for the

Republic confirmed as a Catholic state for Catholic people

By Joe Joyce

THERE was no doubting the simplicity and brutality of the message as the ballot papers were counted in the Irish Republic's referendum on divorce. A majority of people had clearly borrowed the "Ulster says No" slogan and had stood by their own concept of a Catholic state for a Catholic people. As one dispirited cabinet minister summed it up, the message was "Majority rules OK."

The scale of the defeat for Dr Garret FitzGerald is profound. His vision of a pluralistic republic — the basis of his whole political career — has been decisively rejected in what must be the most painful reversal he has suffered. And he now heads a party and coalition already rent by recriminations.

The most important outcome of the vote is likely to be its impact on the Anglo-Irish agreement, the most notable achievement of Dr FitzGerald's premiership. The agreement has been dealt a severe psychological blow.

No one was naive enough to believe that the introduction of divorce in the Republic would have had any appreciable effect on Unionist opposition to the pact. But its rejection has given Unionist charges of "Rome rules" greater validity and has made it more difficult for the British Government to hold the line against their demands for simple majority rule in the province. Dublin's appeals to Unionists to respect minority rights will carry even less weight from now on.

What makes Dr FitzGerald's defeat more acute is the fact that he specifically turned the referendum at the last minute into a poll on minority rights, appealing to his electorate to take account of the implications of the referendum on Northern Ireland. Mr John Hume, the leader of the main minority party in the North, had also thrown his enormous stature in the South behind a similar appeal. Both have fallen on deaf ears.

The result has also illustrated the hollowness of the declarations of Catholic bishops to the New Ireland Forum on the rights of other religions in a united island. When the chips were down, the Church was seen to pull out all the stops and play a major role in defeating divorce. The support of the Protestant churches for the government amendment was simply ignored.

Dr FitzGerald's most urgent task, however, is to steady his coalition administration which probably faces a general election sooner rather than later as a result of last week's defeat. Its last year in office is going to be even more uncertain and shaky than it had anticipated.

His authority as leader of Fine Gael and as Taoiseach has undoubtedly been weakened. His political judgment has been brought into question with a vengeance, apart from his own reaction to this rejection of the kind of society he hoped to encourage in the Republic.

The result gives new heart to the party's old right-wing rump which has always been uneasy with his Social Democratic leanings but who, until now, had little on which to challenge him. But this defeat can and will be laid firmly at his feet: it was he alone who changed his mind earlier this year and decided that the time was ripe to try for reform.

His decision was grounded on successive opinion polls showing a substantial majority in favour of divorce. Indeed, his timing and approach seemed to be correct when the first polls after the referendum was announced at the end of April showed a 22 per cent majority in favour of the government proposals.

How and why that pro-divorce majority was transformed into an anti-divorce landslide is already the subject of bitter debate. The main factor was certainly the relentless campaign about the effects of divorce for the property and pension rights and incomes of dependent women.

Fears of financial insecurity were backed by a deliberate appeal to basic emotions with posters proclaiming "You can be forced to divorce" and "Divorce is a child's nightmare."

The Catholic Church threw its full weight behind the anti-campaign, using its pulpits Sunday after Sunday to ram home the message that divorce would be disastrous while denying that it was telling anybody how to vote. In some areas, schoolchildren were given leaflets to distribute urging a "no" vote. Two priests who had declared their support for divorce were quickly silenced.

On the other hand, the pro-divorce campaign was fragmented as well as being continually on the defensive. The Divorce Action Group which has lobbied for reform for years, had neither the resources nor the expertise to mount an effective nation-wide campaign.

Divisions within Fine Gael — notably the opposition of Education Minister Patrick Cooney — prevented a coordinated government campaign. Tactical considerations also persuaded Fine Gael to adopt a low-key approach and try to prevent a party political battle developing with Fianna Fail. It was left to the small left-wing parties, Labour and the Workers Party, to carry the brunt of the campaigning.

Officially neutral, Fianna Fail nevertheless played a significant role in the outcome. Like the old joke about Irish neutrality during the second world war — asked who was the country neutral against — there was no doubt that Fianna Fail was neutral against divorce.

Given the line-up for and against divorce, it was scarcely surprising that the proposal was lost. Ranged against it were the two most powerful institutions in Irish life — the Church and Fianna Fail. In favour of divorce were the two most unpopular institutions at the moment — the government and the media.

As well as the political careers bruised by the outcome, thousands of people in broken marriages have also received a harsh reply to their appeals for help. Many of them went public at meetings and on doorsteps to explain their plight and wanted divorce to resolve their legal, social, and emotional difficulties.

Dr FitzGerald might be able to find a crumb of comfort in the comment of one middle-aged woman who thanked him, whatever the outcome, at a meeting earlier in the week for having at least tried to do something for people stuck like her in a broken marriage. Otherwise, there is nothing in this decision to offer him either political or personal comfort.

Nigeria frees gaoled Britons

By Martin Wainwright

TWO Britons sentenced to 14-year gaol terms in Nigeria were released and flew home to London last week. The appeal court in Lagos quashed their convictions and accused the trial judge of making serious legal mistakes.

Mr Kenneth Clark and Mr Angus Patterson, both aircraft engineers from Aberdeen, were convicted of conspiracy and theft of an aircraft in Nigeria in 1984 in the aftermath of the unsuccessful attempt to kidnap Mr Umaro Dikko in London.

They had serviced a private jet which was flown out of the country by two British pilots without official clearance during a period when all private aircraft were grounded in a government anti-corruption drive.

Court proceedings began against the two men after the Dikko affair when relations between Britain and Nigeria entered a period of strain.

Three appeal judges ruled that the men were not party to a conspiracy because the pilots of the plane, Ms Katrina Spalding and Mr Michael Howard, were entitled to take possession of it on behalf of a British firm, Shirlston Transport Services.

The trial judge had been wrong, they said, to refuse evidence on the ownership of the plane, which had been leased to Prince Morrison Ilori, owner of Sparkling Breweries in Nigeria. He had ceased to have any legal right to the aircraft as he was £286,000 in default on lease payments.

THE WEEK

POLICE in Madrid detained a Palestinian terrorist who allegedly duped a Spaniard of Arab origins into carrying a bomb … to explode on an Israeli airliner in mid-air. The bomb went off instead at Madrid Airport. It was a carbon copy of the Heathrow bomb incident on April 17.

Police said Nasser Hassan El Ali, lieutenant in the Abu Mussa group, … a suitcase containing a bomb to … Manuel Jalafe, before he passed … an El Al security check.

El Al security agents ordered … open the case and the bomb … subsequently exploded, seriously … passenger and employee and a Spaniard … slightly wounding …

THE Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev, addressing the … Communist Party Congress, …ed the United States of … Europe. The US should stop "kidnapping" world peace and …at seriously the latest Soviet proposals on reducing conventional arms, he said.

Mr Gorbachev's visit is seen as an endorsement for General Jaruzelski's Poland as a reconstructed member of the Socialist camp. The Soviet leader offered a sympathetic analysis of the problems thrown up by Solidarity, though he did not mention the union by name. "The Polish crisis," he said, "was not a protest by the working class against socialism, but an objection to the distortions of socialism in practice."

IN A MOVE which could trigger renewed American pressure on its allies for economic sanctions against Libya, the five remaining US oil companies in the country halted operations to comply with a Reagan Administration order.

THIRTY-THREE Tamil separatist rebels died when a Sri Lankan naval patrol engaged a boat bringing them to the island from India. Only one guerrilla survived.

The incident occurred shortly before four people died and 19 others were wounded in a rebel bomb blast at a tea kiosk in the Vavuniya district.

TWO men condemned to death in Malaysia for drug smuggling have been granted a last-minute stay of execution until next month.

Kevin Barlow, aged 28, who holds dual British and Australian nationality, and a 29-year-old Australian, Brian Chambers, were due to be hanged last week.

Penang's state legal adviser said he would withhold a draft death warrant for Chambers until a case seeking a stay of execution was heard on July 4.

BY a 5-4 vote the US Supreme Court upheld a Georgia state law that makes sodomy a crime. Reversing a federal appeals court ruling, the court said that consenting adults had no right to engage in private homosexual conduct.

The Supreme Court previously has ruled that decisions to marry, have children, practise birth control or have an abortion are fundamental rights.

POLICE in the Pakistani city of Peshawar have rounded up about 6,000 Afghan refugees in an operation designed to calm nerves after a mysterious string of bomb blasts which have rocked it in recent weeks. Of a handful of suspected saboteurs due to be brought before special tribunals this week, only one is an Afghan refugee. Security officials blame the bombing campaign on Khad, the Afghan secret police.

THE Canadian Prime Minister, Mr Brian Mulroney, his Progressive Conservative Party sagging in popularity, announced a key Cabinet reshuffle affecting more than half of his 38 ministers.

Mr Mulroney dismissed six Cabinet members, including the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Erik Nielsen, named eight new ones, and shifted other colleagues to new posts. The respected External Affairs Minister, Mr Joe Clark, and the Finance Minister, Mr Michael Wilson, kept their jobs.

JAPAN'S trade surplus expanded in May to a monthly record, despite the steep rise of the yen, which has been blamed for the country's first-quarter economic slowdown. The surplus was a record $8·3 billion in May, topping the previous high of $7·66 billion set in April, and was nearly double the $4·26 billion surplus recorded in May 1985.

THE Peruvian Government dismissed General Maximo Andres Martinez, the chief of the country's paramilitary Republican Guard police force, three days after President Alan Garcia accused its members of executing at least 100 Maoist prisoners. Mr Garcia vowed to punish all responsible for killing the Maoists when they surrendered after a prison revolt. *(Details, page 9).*

A bomb on a Peruvian tourist train in the former Inca capital of Cuzco killed seven people and wounded 40. The dead included a West German, an American, a Brazilian and a Peruvian.

Howe's shuttle mission 'last chance'

By our Diplomatic Staff

MRS THATCHER this week re… South African ambassador … the espousal of "positive measures" rather than sanctions to encourage the Pretoria regime to eliminate apartheid.

The ambassador, Mr Denis Worrall, told MPs in Westminster that she had adopted "a more constructive approach than beating the hell out of the white South Africans".

Mr Worrall's intervention came in evidence to the Commons foreign affairs committee when he was asked what concessions the South African Government might entertain to speed a settlement.

"The possibilities of concessions arise when in fact there is a more realistic assessment on the part of so many critics of South Africa of the internal situation in South Africa," he said.

"It is one thing to focus on the deficiencies of South African society. It is one thing to focus on the immorality of apartheid. It is another altogether to make constructive suggestions and to want to play a constructive role in the post-apartheid society."

In the face of British and West German opposition to the imposition of economic sanctions, the Common Market summit meeting in The Hague had last week failed to agree to anything more substantial as regards measures against South Africa than to launch a mission to Pretoria, headed by Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe. Sir Geoffrey would be urging the South African Government to rescind the state of emergency and release the thousands of people detained under it. He will also urge that the ban on the African National Congress and other political parties be lifted, *and the ANC leader, Mr Nelson* Mandela be released. *(Details, page 7.)*

These demands would not be accompanied by the threat to impose sanctions if they were not complied with, the British Government was careful to point out. Its view is that any attempt at black… South Africa is likely to be counter-productive.

Sir Geoffrey's mission is a huge political gamble. He will be shuttling between London, Pretoria and Lusaka with the seemingly impossible task of establishing a framework for dialogue, with the abolition of apartheid as its goal. He aims to do this in little more than a month, before the Commonwealth mini-summit in August when, if no worthwhile progress has been achieved, Britain may well face the threat of resignations from the Commonwealth if it continues to resist the call for sanctions.

The Foreign Secretary is emphatic that he is not going on yet another fact-finding mission and that he is looking for serious negotiations, that would involve the South African President Mr P. W. Botha, as well as South Africa's black leadership, including the ANC leaders-in-exile.

He expects to meet both the South African President and the Foreign Minister, Mr R. F. "Pik" Botha, as well as Mr Mandela, if the gaoled ANC leader agrees to meet him.

The South African Foreign Minister, while conceding that Sir Geoffrey's mission "might, on the whole be a good thing", also criticised the Foreign Secretary's assertion that the object of his visit was to secure a negotiated end to apartheid.

As evidence of the new firmness in Britain's policy against the Pretoria Government, Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, held his first meeting with a British minister when he met Mrs Lynda Chalker, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office. Mr Tambo described the meeting as "very good, very cordial", but he said he did not detect signs that Britain's resistance to sanctions is weakening.

The meeting marked a sharp reversal of previous British Government policy under Labour and Conservative administrations. Mrs Thatcher had been adamant until early this year that there could be no contact with the ANC until it renounced its armed struggle.

Meanwhile in Washington President Reagan, backing away from his support for Pretoria, has ordered a high-level reassessment of United States policy towards South Africa with the aim of developing closer ties to black leaders, including the ANC.

The President, increasingly concerned by the Botha Government's resistance to fundamental change, as asked the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and his National Security Adviser, Admiral John Poindexter, to draw up a policy directive for his signature within the next two weeks.

As part of the shift, the US has all but formally decided to seek a formal dialogue with ANC leaders. Officials with the President in Santa Barbara said that American officials on the ground in South Africa and Zambia already opened informal lines of communication with the ANC.

"If you are going to reach out to blacks, you've got to decide what you're going to do with the ANC," an official told correspondents. It was noted that while there were some Marxists in the ANC, it would be wrong to consider the underground movement to be in the Communist camp.

Mr Reagan's policy reassessment has partly been forced upon him by the pressure building on Capitol Hill for strong economic sanctions and direct diplomacy with the aim of encouraging change. The Republican-controlled Senate is to consider sanctions when it returns from its summer recess, and two key members, Senator Richard Lugar, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Nancy Kassenbaum, who heads the African sub-committee, are urging that he send a special … Democratic House of Representatives has already voted for a total cut-off of economic relations.

In South Africa, where the imposition of effective censorship has stifled the flow of verifiable news reports, the clampdown on members of opposition groups increased in intensity. A list of over 1,000 people detained was acquired by the Guardian. It includes newspaper editors, clerics — in some cases whole church congregations are being held — and political activists of all kinds.

Outbreaks of violence continued. In the first two weeks of the emergency the official death toll was given as 66, though the Government announced that daily news briefings were being discontinued as the situation no longer warranted them.

In a potentially significant development, the powerful Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a rally of 15,000 supporters in Soweto that President Botha's proposed National Council could make the start of "the final victory of the black struggle for liberation".

Raising the possibility of participation in the council by his million-member Inkatha movement, the chief made it clear that a decision to join was contingent on several conditions.

One was that Mr Mandela should be released and given the option of joining the council or spurning it. Another was that he, Chief Buthelezi, should receive a "massive mandate" from blacks to do so. A third condition was that the final plans for the National Council — due to be approved at a special congress of President Botha's ruling National Party in August — make it clear that it is a body imbued with real power and not "merely a talking shop".

The rally took place under police protection and black radicals afterwards attacked several buses carrying his supporters, killing three people.

Why the lady is no gentleman

Ian Aitken

ONE of the more instructive anecdotes of that incomparable autobiographer Claud Cockburn concerns the period immediately after he finally came out of the closet and joined the pre-war Daily Worker as its diplomatic correspondent. The post involved certain professional difficulties for him, since the deadline for its first and only edition arrived each evening long before events had fully taken shape.

He records that, while attending some crucial international conference or other in Geneva, he told a few sympathetic colleagues on the rival "capitalist" papers how hard it was to compose an adequate story long before each day's session had ended.

"No problem at all, old boy," they replied. "All you have to do is visualise the most humiliating, the most craven, the most dishonourable thing the British delegation could do, and write that they have done it. By the time the meeting ends you will find that they have."

Now, it is perhaps pushing it a bit to suggest that current British policy towards the apartheid regime in South Africa is on all fours with the Chamberlain-Halifax attitude to Hitler's Germany. But I have to confess that Claud Cockburn's story — no doubt polished a bit in the telling — came to mind last week in the immediate aftermath of Mrs Thatcher's alleged "triumph" at the EEC summit.

For the fact is that her approach to South African sanctions could quite easily have been made up in advance on a somewhat similar principle to the one enunciated by Cockburn's cynical colleagues. We all knew, did we not, that Mrs T was going to go for the absolute minimum she could get away with — and she has.

But what simple innocents such as the Dutch Prime Minister and myself might have found rather more difficult to anticipate was the way that Mrs Thatcher, having achieved her minimalist compromise, then went out in the streets of The Hague to shout about it. While poor Dr Lubbers, her host, was pathetically trying to make the deal look like something, however little, Mrs Thatcher was telling the British press just how insignificant it really was.

Mind you, even that should have been foreseeable, since it was no more than a repeat performance of what she did to the Commonwealth heads of government in Nassau. On that occasion she described the concessions she had made as "teeny-weeny," and illustrated the matter by holding her thumb and forefinger about half an inch apart.

As it happens, she was almost wrong about that, for one of the concessions she graciously granted her colleagues in Nassau was the despatch of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group to Southern Africa. Their report, which recommended sanctions on the basis that the Botha regime would not otherwise be interested in a genuine bid to end apartheid, has become a major weapon in the hands of the pro-sanctions lobby. She has had a hard time rubbishing it.

Dr Lubbers now relinquishes the presidency of the European Community a sadder and a wiser man. He claimed at the conclusion of the summit that there had been a clearly understood "gentleman's agreement" that the Community would indeed move on to the kind of sanctions described in The Hague communique if South Africa did not respond to the EEC's demands.

Mrs Thatcher promptly replied that there had been no such agreement, and that sanctions were by no means automatic in such an event. Whatever else he has learned from his six months as the titular head of the EEC, Dr Lubbers now knows what the rest of us have known for some time — that Mrs Thatcher is no gentleman.

But what of the future? On the Cockburn principle of anticipatory journalism, it should not be too difficult to forecast what is likely to happen. Sir Geoffrey Howe, ostentatiously wearing what he called is EEC presidential hat, will make his trip to the Republic. While the slide towards a bloodbath continues, he will come home, with a few minor concessions and some vague expressions of intent.

He will certainly not "do a Thatcher" with these modest artefacts; on the contrary, he will do his utmost to magnify them into evidence of a change of heart in Bothaland. He will then do his utmost to use this alleged "advance" to peel off some of the old Commonwealth leaders from their New Commonwealth colleagues in time for the August Commonwealth meeting in London. The result, far from being "effective measures", will be ineffective ones.

But for such a tactic to succeed, or even to bring some modest diplomatic returns, one crucial ingredient is essential: Mrs Thatcher must finally be made to shut up about how little Britain has been forced into doing. Indeed, she must change her entire tone of voice in dealing with the South African issue.

For the simple truth about Mrs Thatcher's tone in the face of Commons questions about South Africa is that she sounds as if she is not just reluctant to act but positively opposed to action. In the eyes of many MPs, enemies and sympathisers of the Botha regime alike, she is clearly on the side of the whites.

Sir Geoffrey has had to put up with a lot from Mrs Thatcher over the past ten years. But it was noticeable that he did not directly deny allegations of a growing personal divide between them when they were thrown at him on BBC radio at the weekend. Could it be that the dead sheep is about to come to life at last?

Thatcher wins on sanctions delay

By Derek Brown and James Naughtie

THE deeply divided EEC summit last week produced only a vaguely worded promise to look again, in three months, at further sanctions against South Africa.

The leaders of the 12 countries called for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, lifting of the ban on the African National Congress and for the opening of talks between the Pretorian Government and black opposition. They also endorsed a peace mission to South Africa by Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, on behalf of the whole EEC, in his capacity as president of the Council of Ministers.

The promise of "further measures" — a ban on new investments, and on the import of coal, iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa — if South Africa fails to respond to these demands was a triumph for Mrs Thatcher and her main ally, the West Germany Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, who fought off strong pressure from the pro-sanctions majority at the summit.

Both said after the two-day meeting that there was no ultimatum to South Africa and no commitment to impose sanctions.

Mrs Thatcher spoke warmly of the Community's "practical and constructive" approach. "It is very easy in life to go on hitting out. It is much slower but more positive and worthwhile to take measured steps to achieve the result you want. That is the message of our communiqué," she said.

The hit-list of possible sanctions accounted for some 20 per cent of South African exports to the EEC last year. The leaders said the Community should co-ordinate any possible action with other industrialised nations — meaning chiefly the US and Japan. But there is no obligation on the Europeans themselves to adopt the measures, whatever happens in South Africa.

There will also be a concerted European programme of aid to the victims of the South African system. "In this connection the European Council has agreed to an increase in financial and material assistance to the victims of apartheid, in particular those affected by the disturbances in Crossroads and to political prisoners, including those arrested in connection with the recent reimposition of the state of emergency.

"The European Council is convinced that the commencement without delay of a national dialogue with the authentic leaders of the black population is essential to halt a further escalation of violence and allow negotiations leading to truly democratic and non-racial South Africa. This dialogue cannot take place as long as recognised leaders of the black community are detained and their organisations are proscribed."

Sir Geoffrey's trip to South Africa was described as "a further effort to establish conditions in which the necessary dialogue can commence."

The pro-sanctions faction made the best of their defeat, causing some confusion about what the communiqué actually meant.

President Mitterrand of France said that when the three-month deadline was up, and if Sir Geoffrey's mission failed, no member state would be able to rule out implementation of the package. A similar interpretation was put on the communiqué sent by Denmark.

All attempts to establish exactly how far the EEC had collectively decided to go were crisply dismissed by Mrs Thatcher. "Stick to the words we all agreed," was her advice to reporters. "I am not going to have anything to do with attempts to find differences between members of the Community."

In a weekend interview, Sir Geoffrey stressed his role as a representative of the EEC in his trip to South Africa and claimed that the initiative was much more than an effort by the British Government to avoid tough sanctions.

It was important to see the mission as a European one, he said on BBC Radio 4's The World This Weekend. "So any unwillingness to respond to that mission will not just be saying no to me or Margaret Thatcher, but saying no to the whole weight of the European Community."

But in the same interview he said he was not going bearing threats. *"We recognise how foolish* it would be to drive them into the laager where dialogue would be impossible," he said. Instead he was going with the weight of common sense and a sense of moral justice as a weapon — "the strongest weapon in the world".

But the Government is aware that it faces strong criticism for Mrs Thatcher's refusal to consider early sanctions against Pretoria. Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, and the two Alliance Party leaders all served notice that they will pin on Mrs Thatcher the blame for any adverse effects on Britain of the delay in considering sanctions and in trying what they consider to be an ill-fated mission.

Commonwealth reaction, led by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, is causing concern in the Foreign Office. But officials are arguing that before the mini-summit in London in August to consider sanctions Britain will have demonstrated a willingness for concerted international pressure on South Africa and will not be able to be accused of dodging the issue.

Mr Denis Healey, Labour's *foreign affairs spokesman, after* his southern Africa trip accused the Government of inventing the Howe mission "as a delaying tactic to prevent Mrs Thatcher confronting reality". White businessmen to whom he had spoken said they regarded the analysis of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group as correct.

The cost of imposing economic measures

By Christopher Huhne

ALMOST the single most important feature of the South African economy is its global insignificance. The entire continent of Africa, after all, has a Gross National Product — or national income — rather smaller than Britain's. Within that total, South Africa had a GNP worth some $70 billion in 1984, or roughly midway between the $65 billion figure for Austria and the $75 billion total for Belgium.

South Africa's GNP had to be shared out amongst a lot more people, since the population is estimated at about 31 million giving a GNP per head of $2,225 (compared with $9,802 in Britain). This makes it squarely an "upper middle income" country, in World Bank parlance. Its rough living standards in total are just about the same as, say, Mexico's, or Brazil's, or Argentina's.

This tells us nothing about how the income is distributed. Countries at a similar stage of development tend to be extremely unequal, even without South Africa's racial policy. In Brazil, for example, the top 10 per cent of income earners dispose of just over half of all income, compared with just under a quarter in richer Britain.

However, the above-average infant mortality rate and the below-average life expectancy for upper middle income countries suggest that income distribution is if anything worse in the Republic. One estimate is that the average annual earnings of the urban black population are around a quarter of average annual earnings of the five million or so white population, while the one million Asians earn about half white earnings and the near three million mixed race "coloureds" average just over a third.

There is also severe unemployment. The number of unemployed in the black population is estimated to be 8.5 per cent, its highest level for four years. However, this published figure for black unemployment does not include unemployment in the "homelands" which probably increases the total to well over three million, or a quarter of the workforce. Even unemployment amongst the white, coloured and Asian population nearly doubled from 36,500 in December 1984 to more than 71,100 in January 1986 due to the recession during 1985.

The structure of the South African economy is similar to other upper middle income countries, in that it still relies preponderantly on commodity exports to earn its foreign exchange and pay for its imports. It thus fits classically into the pattern of a primary producing country dependent on the metropolitan states of Europe and North America for more sophisticated goods.

Until the discovery of diamonds in 1862 and of gold in 1886, South Africa had been a largely agrarian society, with both a subsistence peasant agriculture and a belt of cash croppers. The mining boom attracted enormous flows of international capital, and created an exportable surplus able both to service debt and afford a substantially higher level of imports.

Just one commodity — gold — habitually accounts for about half of South Africa's export earnings for foreign currency, while minerals, base metals, precious stones, pearls and coins account for a further 30 per cent of exports. South Africa has been peculiarly vulnerable both to the long run decline in the purchasing power of base commodities relative to manufacturers and to sharp fluctuations in the price of its main exports.

Indeed, it has been argued that the Americans used US Treasury and International Monetary Fund sales of gold to depress the gold price, and exert pressure on the South Africans over Angola, during 1976.

Gold is potentially a vulnerable pressure point. Official developed country holdings massively outweigh South Africa's own dominant annual production, and such a stock overhang on the market could collapse the price and hence the foreign currency earnings South Africa needs to buy imports. A halving of the gold price would cut foreign currency earnings by a quarter — and imports would probably have to fall in line.

Since 1924, the government has pursued a policy of protectionism in order to reduce its dependence on imports and encourage domestic manufacturing industry, which now accounts for over a quarter of all national income. However, it is strictly oriented towards the home market, and is unable to export more than a tiny share of output as it is uncompetitive internationally.

In turn, the manufacturing sector relies heavily on imports. One large item is parts for assembly (including the only BMW plant outside Germany) though local content rules have been pushed as high as 60 per cent. The biggest item, though, is machinery and equipment to keep production going. A third of all supplies of capital goods and complex machinery come from overseas. The economy might thus be vulnerable to either a selective ban on machine tool exports, or a complete physical blockade of the six main ports.

South Africa's Armscor parastatal has substantially increased production of arms to offset the embargo, but expert opinions differ over whether the South African economy is yet sophisticated enough to produce, say, its own numerically controlled machine tools. But there is no doubt that there would be a substantial cost involved in an economy with a distinct shortage of skilled manpower. In the short term, at least, production would be at the expense of something else.

The other import on which South Africa still depends crucially is oil. The government started an oil from coal project back in 1955, and three of the SASOL plants are now operational. Even the most optimistic official estimate, however, puts their ability to meet oil needs at no more than 40 per cent of a total 280,000 barrels a day.

There is also a distinct problem with the oil from coal process, because it does not produce much diesel fuel used in commercial transport. The size of the strategic stockpile of oil is secret, but the wilder stories of vast underground lakes are probably an exaggeration. The regime may have 15 months to two years unrationed oil supplies.

The South African economy would also lose enormous opportunities if it were cut off from imported technology and knowhow, as with any other small and open economy. (Despite the tariffs, imports and exports are each worth about a quarter of GDP.) Most economic growth is due to productivity improvements, which are in turn due to technological innovations.

However, the short term effect of South Africa being cut off from the world financial system might be the very reverse of what would be expected. At present, the South Africans are running a very substantial surplus of exports over imports, and hence sending resources abroad.

Foreign businesses are taking out more in interest profits and dividends than they are putting in with new capital, and the banks are not lending new credit which the South Africans can use to repay their old debt and the interest on it. South Africa even managed to repay $2 billion of its $24 billion foreign currency debt over last year.

The financial markets have indirectly been putting enormous pressure on Pretoria to accelerate reform, mainly through the sharp collapse in the rand in 1984 and 1985, which saw a rate against the US dollar of only 2.58 in the fourth quarter compared with 1.07 at the end of 1982. Import prices have soared and the inflation rate is now at 20 per cent.

Government economic policy has been schizophrenic, reacting at times to the pressure of the falling rand with tough deflation and at others to the riots with public spending and an easing in policy. Real GDP growth was a relatively rapid 5 per cent in 1984, but the widening current account deficit and the sharp decline in the currency forced depressive measures. Imports fell sharply, which swung the current account from a deficit of 1.4 billion rand in 1984 to a surplus of 7.1 billion rand last year, and left the real GDP dropping by 1 per cent last year, the third decline in four years.

By adding to the domestic unemployment it will also have added to the domestic political pressures, which in turn unsettle the financial markets. Mr Barend de Plessis, the Finance Minister, is walking a tightrope trying to keep both constituencies — foreign financiers and the blacks — at bay. Last week, perhaps panicked by both the riots and the evidence that the economy declined against in the first quarter of this year, he announced a 1.2 billion rand reflationary package the largest item of which was spending on low-cost housing for blacks. South Africa needs 2.5 per cent growth just to keep the living standards of a rising population stable.

There is unlikely to be a great queue of Western governments offering to bail Pretoria out of its financial problems, even if the British government is unwilling to impose sanctions. South Africa simply does not loom large enough in the world economy.

Gold is no longer the key to the world monetary systems, and the leading industrial countries are nominally pledged to demonetise it entirely. Certainly, South Africa produces about 85 per cent of the world's platinum, but an interruption of supplies will do little more than impede the introduction of anti-pollution exhausts on cars. The 55-60 per cent of world chrome which South Africa produces is used in stainless steel. Half the world's manganese, also used in steel making, is not enough to hold anyone to ransom. Scarcity might push prices up — but that would also encourage consumers to economise, and alternative suppliers and substitutes to spring up.

Even for a country as directly involved with South Africa as Britain, the interests are small. Britain's visible exports to South Africa were worth £1 billion last year, or 1.28 per cent of the total. To put that in context, Britain's exports to Iran fell by £500 million between 1978 and 1979 after the fall of the Shah. Invisible earnings from South Africa — shipping, banking interest etc — was worth £1.9 billion in 1984, which was 2.… per cent of total British invisible credits.

The Department of Trade and Industry's guesstimates are that Britain's total investment in South Africa was worth £6 billion at the end of 1984, split about in half between direct investment in subsidiaries and portfolio investment in shares. That was 3.8 per cent of the total overseas investment (before deducting foreigners' investment in Britain) and barely more than a third of the net gain which we made in 1984 mainly due to currency movements.

In addition, British banks had lent around £6.9 billion to South Africa at the end of 1984, which was 1.6 per cent of their outstanding overseas claims (before deducting foreigners' claims on us). At the time, the banks had lent £13 billion to Brazil and £12 billion to Mexico.

For Mr Du Plessis, the hard truth is that little economies like South Africa's are a lot less important to the world than the world is to them. Economic pressure would hurt, though whether it would hurt enough to extract more than minor concessions is another question.

Israel's securit‿nief resigns over killings

By Ian Black in Jerusalem

ISRAEL'S security scandal came to a head last week when the chief of the Shin Bet secret service resigned and thus prevented an official enquiry which could have exposed the role of the country's top political leaders in a cover of the facts about the killing o' Palestinian prisoners.

The month-long scanda ontro- an astonishing and hi the cabi- versial conclusion w ced, after net secretary an crisis meet- another in a se rity chief, Mr ings, that the, and three of his Avraham Sh sought and had colleagues d a presidential par- been gr don. ers, opposition MPs, and Le some cabinet ministers im- ev

nanded to know how mediat ould have been granted a pa Shin Bet officers had wh been charged with any ne. Presidential discretion nor- ally applies only to people de- fined as "criminals." Mr Shalom is to be replaced, but the three other men are to stay in office.

President Chaim Herzog said in a televised address: "My decision was made out of a deep recognition that the public good and the welfare of the state necessitates saving the General Security Service from the damage entailed in the continuation of this affair." The President said that the "splendid men" of the service prevented "dozens of terrorist attacks every month."

The Israeli Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, said that he would not oppose an examination of the political decisions behind the alleged cover-up. His remarks, which came amid growing anger over the presidential pardon, gave rise to speculation that some kind of inquiry would be launched.

Mr Shamir, now the Foreign Minister and Likud leader, was Prime Minister in April 1984, at the time of the incident. Mr Shamir, who is widely assumed to have been privy to the Shin Bet cover-up, said that while he personally had nothing to fear from an inquiry into the affair, it would damage national security. Likud Knesset members rejected demands to set up an investigation.

But the questions won't go away

AVRAHAM SHALOM, the head of Israel's Shin Bet security service, resigned last week, to get his political masters off the hook by preventing an investigation of his and their role in a cover-up over the killing of two captured Palestinians.

The Shin Bet scandal, which exploded onto the front pages of Israeli newspapers a month ago, and has stayed there ever since, raised vital questions about the functioning and accountability of secret services in a democratic country, where the need to fight terrorism is the most sacred of many sacred cows.

But the resignation by Mr Shalom, and the simultaneous presidential pardon granted him and three other senior Shin Bet officers, has left those questions unanswered, particularly those pertaining to the responsibility of politicians for the activities of their clandestine services. The solution that has been hammered out is to bend the law and to cover up the cover-up.

The two young Palestinian hijackers from Gaza who were killed in what has been described as an "organised lynch" in April 1984 after taking over a civilian bus, have never been an issue in this scandal. No Israeli politician ever made political capital out of being soft on terrorists. The issue has been over trust, truth and loyalty.

It has also been an issue that has hardly touched the general public. "So what," shrugs the man on the Tel Aviv omnibus, "if they finished off a couple of filthy terrorists. What's all the fuss about?" Whether Avraham Shalom gave the order for the lynch: whether he told the prime minister: and whether the prime minister told his successor — and whether all knew that the truth was being concealed — concern only the Israeli political elite. No-one else gives a damn.

It has been an ugly and unedifying affair, with both politicians and secret servants playing dirty and playing hard. The Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, showed unusual lack of poise, when the story first broke, insisting almost hysterically that the Shin Bet chief deserved more than a trial by newspaper and Shalom's proferred resignation was repeatedly refused. Last week, however, Mr Peres caved in.

Too much was at stake, it seemed, for principles and legality to triumph over power and ambition. The Foreign Minister and Likud leader, Mr Yitzhak Shamir, who was Prime Minister when the hijack took place, has consistently refused to say whether he knew of the cover-up staged by the Shin Bet about the killing of the prisoners.

Mr Peres, who is due to hand over power to Mr Shamir in October, under the agreement setting up the National Unity Coalition, clearly knew too much for comfort, if not as much as Mr Shamir. Any proper enquiry — which has now been deftly avoided by Mr Shalom's resignation — would have had to have led eventually to both of them.

To judge by the furious reactions in Jerusalem, the end of the affair has yet to come. No-one has yet explained who is to blame for the fact that a senior army officer — the "Dreyfus" of this scandal — spent months under suspicion for having murdered the two Palestinians because of the Shin Bet cover-up. No-one has even mentioned the two anonymous Shin Bet agents widely believed to have organised the lynch and struck the fatal blows. And nobody has explained why a country which prides itself on civilised norms of behaviour — even in the battle against terrorism — murders its captives instead of following normal legal practices.

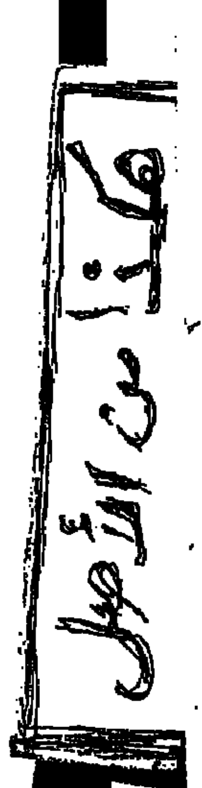
Since there is now to be no proper enquiry, we will probably never know. One theory is that the prisoners were killed to avoid the possibility that they would be released in exchange for captured Israelis. Another version says that the Shin Bet wanted to make clear, in the most drastic way, that it would not countenance terrorism from the Muslim fundamentalist groups springing up in the occupied Gaza Strip.

The secret servants themselves have done much to ensure that there never would be a real enquiry. The three former senior officers who complained about Shalom's cover-up to the attorney-general have been subject to a vicious campaign of intimidation and vilification. Phones have been tapped and outright lies have been leaked.

One of the nastiest bits of the whispering campaign was directed against one of the Attorney-General's chief assistants, a married woman who was wrongly said to hae been having an affair with Shalom's deputy, one of the three dismissed officers.

But apart from the two Palestinians, there have been no corpses in this scandal.

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Israeli army releases warts-and-all film

By Ian Black in Jerusalem

A YEAR after withdrawing most of its forces from Lebanon, the Israeli army is releasing a warts-and-all documentary drama film, originally produced for internal purposes, that is highly critical of the three-year war, the most controversial and unpopular in the country's history.

The 90-minute film, called A Stone's Throw from Sidon in Hebrew and Ricochets in its English version, is to go on general commercial release in Israel and abroad this month. It won praise from critics who saw it at the recent Cannes film festival, although it was not a formal entry.

Ricochets was first made as an internal training film "to be used as the basis of debate on the behaviour of soldiers under pressure in the factional confusion of Lebanon, according to the army.

"Since it was being shown to soldiers who had lived through the war, and was supposed to spark discussion," said Lieutenant-Colonel Eli Dori, head of the army's film unit, "it could not be dishonest. They would have howled us down."

Ricochets tells the story of a squad of young soldiers serving in Lebanon towards the end of the occupation. It is far from being a glorification of the war and goes a long way towards conveying the sheer terror of teenage conscripts caught up in a situation they barely comprehended.

"I understand Lebanon," says Georgie, the joker of the Israeli unit. "The Christians hate the Druze and the Shi'ites, the Sunnis and the Palestinians too. The Druze hate the Christians. No . . . yes . . . OK. The Druze hate the Christians, the Shi'ites and the Syrians. Why? The Shi'ites have been screwed over for ages, so they hate them all. The Sunnis hate whoever their boss tells them to hate, and the Palestinians hate one another. But they all hate us.

"If the terrorists shoot at the front of our patrol, we return fire from the middle. If they shoot at the middle of the patrol we return fire from the front. So they attack the rear. And who is always assigned to the rear? Georgie, that's who."

Ricochets is not objective or historical. The simplistic text that introduces the film ignores the complex motives that led the Begin Government, at the prompting of the Defence Minister, Mr Ariel Sharon, to invade Lebanon in June 1982. The PLO, the ostensible target of "Operation Peace for Galilee," is never mentioned. Nor is Israel's secret relationship with the Phalangists.

"In 1982," viewers are told, "the Israeli army entered Lebanon to root out terrorist bases there. The action was to be limited in both time and scope. But Israel became entangled in the war, and remained fighting in Lebanon for three years."

Dealing with the politics of the war was problematic, to put it mildly: "The film was designed to provoke a debate about problems like morality on the battlefield," Colonel Dori said.

"We were going to expose things rather than cover them up. It went without saying, though, that we couldn't touch political questions."

But Ricochets has a ring of honest authenticity, revealing the strengths and weaknesses of the Israeli experience – the stark brutality of searches in Lebanese Shi'ite villages; and the accidental killing of a child as the increasingly nervous and trigger-happy men get caught up in a nerve-racking war.

Gadi, an idealistic young lieutenant, fresh from training and serving in Lebanon for the first time, believes "there is a choice." His personal one is to storm a house to kill a Shi'ite "terrorist" rather than risk injuring the civilians inside. Gadi's hard-bitten commander, by contrast, does not care if he has to kill 100 innocent Lebanese to save one of his own men.

THE Mexican Government has narrow differences with the International Mon Fund on how to deal with its debt and econo problems and an accord looks on the cards by late in July, according to financial sources in Washington, writes Alex Brummer. The IMF apparently agreed to accept Mexican arguments that nominal interest on Mexico's domestic debts does not have to be fully counted in udget calculations. This means it will be far ier for the government of Mr Miguel De La Me d to make the budget reductions request- he IMF and will avoid the possibility of efaulting.

Tightening screws on Mexico

NOW the final is over and Argentina managed to snatch the World Cup for the Latin Americans, the footballers can stop banging their ball about and Mexico can return to reality.

If anything, reality will be even nastier than it was before the World Cup. On the macro-economic front, it begins immediately. Mexico is due to pay some $1,500 million in interest on its foreign debt this week, and the government has been telling its creditors that it has not got the money.

For the average Mexican, the reality is a new round of price rises. New petrol and diesel prices are due to be announced. At any moment, too, it is expected that the cost of a ticket on the Mexico City underground will be put up by an astronomical 50 times. This will probably be disguised by introducing a "boleto unico," which will allow people to travel on buses as well as the underground on the same ticket. But the days of the standard fare of one peso are numbered.

This fare was fixed when the underground was first built, and was then worth about 5p. But such has been inflation and devaluation that one peso is now worth only about one tenth of a penny. In years gone by, Mexico's huge oil revenues allowed subsidised fares to be maintained. Now that these revenues have collapsed, the government cannot afford the subsidy. But public transport fares are a highly explosive issue, and the government did not want any trouble before the World Cup.

If the screws are indeed tightened this week, it will not be the first time this year. The subsidy on maize, the basic ingredient of the tortilla, which is the Mexican's staff of life, has been sharply cut to reduce the government's public spending deficit. The IMF likes subsidies to be lowered because that reduces the budget deficit, which in Mexico's case is currently running at 13 per cent, over double the agreed target of 6 per cent. And without the IMF's approval, Mexico will not get the new bank loans it needs to avoid defaulting on its foreign debt, now pushing $100 billion. Too bad that the cut in subsidies more than doubled the price of tortillas.

It's true that a 25 per cent wage increase was given last month to those lucky enough to have a full-time job. But that was well below the current rate of inflation since the last increase at the beginning of January. The way things are going, inflation could hit 100 per cent this year — double the target figure.

So no-one should have been surprised that when President Miguel de la Madrid inaugurated the World Cup a month ago, the thousands of Mexicans in the Aztec stadium greeted him with deafening jeers and whistles. The days are over when a Mexican president could expect a kind of veneration and awe due to an

By John Rettie

Aztec emperor or a Spanish viceroy. In fact, the entire political system is in its deepest crisis since the revolution at the beginning of the century.

Mexico is, after all, no longer a backward rural country, where veneration for the *cacique*, something between a chieftain and a boss, was the natural order of things. The political structure set up after the revolution was hot on revolutionary rhetoric, but it was still very solidly based on the old Aztec system of *caciquismo* — something wholly unsuited to an increasingly complex and industrialised country.

The system survived with some success for longer than it might have because for many years it delivered the goods. During 30 years until 1980, the economy's growth rate averaged about 6 per cent — well above the rate of population increase. Those were the days in which, if nothing changed for the 20 million impoverished Mexicans at the bottom of the pile, at least they could hope that their children would have a better life — and many did. A solid middle class was formed, and the country's stability and progress seemed assured.

During these 30 years, several efforts were made to modernise the political system, but they were always blocked by the old-guard *caciques*. Then, with the second oil price rise in the late Seventies, the ruling elite got greedy. Under the weak and vain José López Portillo, President de la Madrid's predecessor, corruption, crime, incompetence and waste became the order of the day. Mr López Portillo hardly dare show his face in Mexico City these days. Last time he appeared in a restaurant there, people began to bark at him, to remind him of the time he said he would "defend the peso like a dog," shortly before devaluing it by nearly 50 per cent.

President de la Madrid has done his best to eschew the vainglorious rhetoric of his predecessor, and act responsibly. Much good it has done him. For nearly four years, he has followed the IMF's orthodox policies steadfastly, but with discretion, and it has brought Mexico to th disas k of default and economic threat — not to mention the Not al itical instability. the Preside lame can be laid at have some fav oor. But he does to be totally lac abilities. One is something which charisma — Mexican president c successful out, especially in tim do with- Even within his own g crisis. he is sharply criticised in ment "He is," one senior official to ate. "the most sensible president modern times, but he is hopeless indecisive. He missed a golden opportunity to rally the people after the earthquake last September."

Almost everybody, however, both inside the government and out, believes that more liberal politics are a crucial condition of modernisation. A new test is now approaching. Next Sunday, more gubernatorial and municipal elections are to be held. The PRI is saying confidently that it will win. The right-wing opposition National Action Party (PAN), which the Reagan administration would perhaps like to see as a viable alternative (but which it is very far from being), says the PRI will win only by fraud. This looks like a "heads you win, tails I lose" situation for the PRI.

At this time of crisis, the government looks more divided and indecisive than ever. Less than two weeks ago, Finance Minister Jesus Silva Herzog resigned for still unexplained reasons.

It seems he wanted the reforms of the Mexican economy, which Washington and the IMF have posed as conditions for coming to Mexico's financial rescue, to go faster than his colleagues could accept. Some Mexicans close to the government believe that the Reagan Administration is demanding another price, too — an end to Mexico's defence of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

What price President de la Madrid will be willing or able to pay for being bailed out remains to be seen. But there is no doubt of Washington's serious concern President Reagan is to invite his Mexican colleague for talks in California in August. In the meantime, the US Administration is apparently leaning on the IMF to soften its demands for reforms, so that Mexico can at least be bailed out until next year. According to some reports in Mexico, they are hoping that oil prices will move up again by then.

To an outsider, this looks like a wild gamble. And even if it comes off, the fundamentals will be the same. The domestic debt, which is now, if anything, a heavier burden on the economy than the foreign debt, will be even bigger. The political structure will be the same. The crisis will almost certainly come back, but more acute than ever.

Perhaps Mexico's real problem is that is has failed to produce a coherent modernisation plan of its own. The editor of the perceptive monthly magazine Nexos, Hector Aguilar Camin, wrote recently that for 30 years the word "modernisation" has been synonymous with "North-Americanisation". But for Mexico to become like the United States is neither possible nor acceptable to most Mexicans. Their crisis will not end, however, until they find out how to modernise in their own way.

Peru counts the cost of massacre

By Mike Reid in Peru

WHEN the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrilla suspects detained in Lima's Lurigancho gaol began their mutiny by taking a prison warder hostage, they almost certainly had no inkling that less than 24 hours later all 126 of them would be dead.

With terrifying suddenness, the bloodbath in Lima's prisons has laid bare the unstable foundations of President Alan Garcia's rule and of civilian government in Peru.

In its wake it has brought shivers of fear and some Peruvians have begun to wonder aloud whether this socially divided country of 20 millions has any chance of avoiding the kind of self-destructive violent spiral towards military dictatorship suffered by its more affluent neighbours like Argentina and Uruguay in the 1970s.

Sendero almost certainly believed that, as on previous occasions, the government would respond to its coordinated mutiny in three prisons by negotiating. But, in a disastrous, political misjudgment, it had timed its action to coincide with the arrival in Lima of leaders of the world's socialist and social democratic parties, assembling for the congress of the Socialist International.

For 37-year-old President Garcia the congress represented a chance to confirm his claims to be a new Third World leader. Within 12 hours, he had ordered the armed forces to crush the mutinies. It is probable that even the president himself did not foresee the full consequences.

The Senderistas quickly found themselves on the wrong end of a hasty decision whose execution was entrusted to agents who had their own reasons for applying maximum force and despatch. "It was putting the fox into the henhouse," a source close to the military said.

Mr Garcia's 11-month-old government has been under mounting pressure to grant the armed forces sweeping powers to deal with Sendero's insurgency, which many officers considered was rapidly getting out of control.

The secretive, tightly organised and barely-armed guerrilla group, led by provincial Maoist intellectuals with no proven links to foreign governments, began its insurgency in the poverty-stricken Ayacucho region of Peru's southern Andes in 1980. But in the face of military repression over the past two years, Sendero modified its classical Maoist strategy of "surrounding the cities from the countryside."

Instead, it turned to carefully-selected assassinations and sabotage attacks in Lima. Despite the imposition of a state of emergency and nightly curfew in the capital in February, Sendero became ever more provocative. The killing last month of Admiral Carlos Ponce, a member of the navy general staff, was a turning point. It prompted military demands for the judging of guerrilla suspects by military tribunals and for armed control over some prisons. This stemmed from the view that civilian judges were scared to convict Senderistas.

An intelligence adviser said also that many of the actions of Sendero's Lima regional committee were planned from the prisons, where the guerrillas had imposed virtual no-go areas.

Ordered to crush the mutiny, the armed forces treated it "as a purely technical operation to liquidate a subversive base," according to this source. He shares a common view that the operation left 400 guerrilla detainees dead, although the official death toll is still 159.

Despite the protests, "the fact that the armed forces went overboard is embarrassing rather than disastrous" for Mr Garcia's internal political position, according to a foreign diplomat. But it is an indicator of the speed with which civilian authority in Peru has been weakened that many observers believe that if Mr Garcia wants to keep his job, he probably has no alternative but to blame the police for what happeded at Lurigancho.

Talking with the ANC

WHATEVER the concomitant co- the the Government's decision to -rs, Mr leader of the African National C Lynda Oliver Tambo, to call on -ter, is an Chalker, a Foreign Office -icy on South important change in Briti- in no way Africa. Its significan- Whitehall insis-diminished by conti-theid group should tence that the ant- violence previously renounce the ta- reason for not having given as the -l contact with it. high-level, pr of events inside and outside

The prer has produced this heartening South Aitehall. But the original Conser-shift bsition on the ANC, essentially that vath to be shunned because it was a iturist organisation with Communist con-ections, is one which still, quite naturally, worry many more moderate people whose loathing of apartheid is matched by their abhorrence of political violence. The importance of the ANC for South Africa's future, freshly enhanced by British de facto recognition, and the arrival of the apartheid crisis at the centre of the world stage make this a moment to reflect on the movement's moral status.

The ANC, founded in 1912 on the model of Gandhi's Natal Indian Congress, has always presented itself as a broad church open to anyone in favour of justice for blacks in South Africa, based on one person, one vote. Pretoria makes much of the fact that about half its executive are or were members of the South African Communist Party. The imprisoned spiritual leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, said at his trial in 1964: "For many decades Communists were the only political group which was prepared to eat with us, talk with us, live with us and work with . . . the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with Communism. They are supported in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as Communists." These words still apply. The equation by some of Communism with freedom may sound tragically ironic, but from an African point of view, nurtured on a tradition of social collectivism, the Western alternative and its twisted offspring, apartheid, have not done much for black rights. Nonetheless the ANC still stands for a multiracial or non-racial government and a mixed economy in a post-apartheid South Africa, and the rather less than radical Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group went out of its way in its recent report to emphasise the moderation of people like Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo.

The ANC espoused violence only when it was banned after the massacre at Sharpeville. Despite recent ANC bombings and threats to attack "soft targets," it may have been responsible for three dozen deaths in 26 years, compared with 1,700 blacks killed in South Africa by police and black internecine violence since September 1984. Few outside (and not so many within) the ranks of the ruling Afrikaner Nationalists doubt that a fair election would give the ANC a majority. As the militarily much weaker party, it will not renounce violence unless Pretoria does the same: President Botha's lastest actions show that it is up against a racialist tyranny in its fight for the vote. The ANC is the dominant piece on the black side of the board. Britain has seen the light; it is a tragedy for South Africa that the Botha regime has rejected negotiation with reasonable men.

Ireland and the vote on divorce

IT DID not need a referendum in the south to rule out any prospect of a unified Ireland for the foreseeable future, but what the vote has done is to reinforce partitionist thinking on both sides. Of course, the people of the Republic are entitled to whatever social system they decide on, even if it is, in the words of the Democratic Unionist Party, the showpiece of Catholic nationalism in Europe. Those who find the atmosphere claustrophobic will have to emigrate, as they have done in large numbers before for different reasons. But the Republic cannot with any consistency assert in theory its concern for the Protestant minority in the island and vote so decisively against minority rights in practice.

Mr Charles Haughey, leader of Fianna Fail, said on Irish radio that the vote had no bearing on the North-South question because even in a unitary state (he cited Anglo-Scottish union) different legal systems could coexist. Much more could they coexist in a federal Ireland. All that may be constitutionally true, but Mr Haughey is far too smart a politician not to recognise that the prospect of harmonious relations between north and south has been damaged, perhaps irreparably, because the vote can so easily be interpreted as a snub to all those outside the Catholic Church. And that regrettably means that harmonious relations between the two northern communities have been damaged too.

Mr John Hume was nearer the mark when he said that the impact on the north did not get the attention it deserved during the campaign. If the biggest problem of Ireland is the division of its people then the consequences go far beyond questions of marital breakdown. They include murder and economic depression. The Irish electorate could have voted to narrow the division (it was not planned, as observers could be forgiven for supposing, to make divorce compulsory!). But the very fact of having a referendum and rejecting reform has made the division wider. It is for that reason that Dr Garret FitzGerald's judgment in going ahead with it is being criticised within his own party, but that flash of wisdom is a good deal easier after the event.

Unionist leaders have thus been handed the most plausible of reasons for resisting blandishments from the south. If a majority in the north consistently votes to continue partition so, in the light of this and the previous abortion referendum, does a majority in the south. (The previous vote was not about whether to legalise abortion. It was to make what was already illegal unconstitutional as well.) That argument must, however, be resisted in so far as it is applied to the Anglo-Irish agreement. The one-third of the people in the north who think of themselves as nationalists have in effect been given a protecting power to look after their interests. No adverse effects on the Unionists flow from that. If a future Taoiseach behaved less sensitively than does Dr FitzGerald then a new situation would have arisen. As it is Mr Peter Barry is going to find his remaining tenure difficult. Not only is he, as Foreign Minister, co-chairman with Mr Tom King of the Anglo-Irish conference but he was the minister in charge of the Government's referendum campaign,

Loyalist leaders would have expressed no thanks if the vote had gone the other way. In that sense Dr FitzGerald was on the proverbial hiding to nothing. His reason for holding the referendum was that he thought it the right thing to do, for the Republic itself and then for the whole island. That reason remains entirely adequate.

Craxi not for melting

AS Prime Minister of Italy, Mr Bettino Craxi had become so much of a fixture that Madame Tussaud's was poised to put his effigy on display in London this week. The momentary discomfiture of foreign waxworks is, of course, rather less important than the implications for his own country of the resignation of the holder of the allcomers' postwar record for unbroken tenure of the Italian premiership. It has, however, been clear for some months that Mr Craxi has been living on borrowed time. As leader of a coalition of five parties of which his own Socialists constitute only the second largest (by a wide margin), he was a political anomaly. Italy's dominant party, the Christian Democrats, never out of office since the war, tolerated Mr Craxi for nearly three years because they had suffered electoral setbacks and for a while had no credible and obvious new candidate for the premiership. But since the election of the energetic Mr Ciriaco de Mita as their leader last year it has only been a question of time before they would reassert their claim to the national leadership.

It is, however, an uncomfortable fact for the Christian Democrats that the only two heads of government from outside their ranks — Mr Craxi and Mr Giovanni Spadolini of the tiny Republican Party (currently defence minister) — have proved to be the outstanding Italian premiers of recent years. The two men fell out last autumn over the handling of the terrorist seizure of the Italian cruise-liner Achille Lauro, which occasioned Mr Craxi's first resignation. He immediately returned to office at the head of the identical coalition, on a wave of Italian resentment over the way the Americans had ignored national sovereignty in hijacking the ship's hijackers to an Italian airfield. Now that he has resigned a second time, Mr Craxi has already been asked by President Cossiga to stay on as caretaker pending the formation of a new government, and it is entirely possible that he may be offered the chance, unpromising though it looks, of forming a third administration. He is, after all, a leader who has managed to do more than his predecessors in stabilising the Italian economy. Never held back by false modesty, Mr Craxi was always firmly convinced that his leadership of a faction historically overshadowed by Europe's largest Communist Party should not prevent him from aspiring to a post he believed was his due.

His second resignation resulted from last week's parliamentary defeat in a secret ballot on local government finance, which followed immediately on victory in an open vote of confidence. Whether he comes back now or later is an open question: that we have not heard the last of him seems certain. Madame Tussaud's should not rush to melt him down.

Liberté takes a back seat

LOOK around democratic Europe and you will see the police under a growing dual pressure almost everywhere — from their increasing workload and from controversy about the way they deal with it. In Britain there are the hippies, the Stalker affair, Wapping and the unending row about tougher police measures. In Sweden the force is under attack for failing to find Olof Palme's assassin. In West Germany the boys in green are on the streets again with tear-gas and water-cannon against nuclear protesters. In the Netherlands and Ireland they are all but swamped by the drug problem, in Spain by the Basque terrorists, in Italy by organised crime. In so many democracies there seems to be a growing tendency to treat deep-seated social ills as problems exclusively of law and order because they begin with, or can lead to, lawbreaking.

It is a central feature of democracy that there should be a continual debate about the role and power of the police, when technology offers unprecedented possibilities for social control as society itself becomes more and more difficult to manage. Never was it truer to say that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance — and nowhere is it more true than in France since the Right returned to government. When the Socialists took office in 1981 one of their first actions was to liberalise French law-enforcement, which is uniquely elaborate and all-pervading among the democracies. It was the first occasion in modern times that the particularly (though not exclusively) French trend towards tighter police control, going back to the Revolution and beyond, was put into reverse.

The Right has also made an early move on law and order — by swinging the pendulum violently in the opposite direction. The four security bills now winding their way through parliament are dramatic evidence of the peculiarly French obsession with crime. Since Paris is the western capital most attacked by terrorists and France is noted for violent crime, popular anxiety is not surprising. But the proposed measures make enormous inroads into civil liberties without any evidence that they will have the desired effect. The police will be able to make random identity checks and arrest people on unspecified suspicion, with heavy penalties for those who do not cooperate. A "forgery-proof," computer-readable identity card is to be issued, minimum sentences of 30 years imposed for some crimes, detention without charge to be made easier and parole to be severely restricted. Right-wing deputies are falling over themselves to propose even tougher amendments to restore the death penalty and introduce heavy fines or imprisonment for those defending or even those (such as journalists) publicising the aims and words of terrorists. Add all this to impending legislation on immigration and nationality and you have a vicious mix of repression which threatens immigrants and the young above all.

The law-and-order package has rightly aroused all manner of social pressure-groups. Roman Catholic and Muslim leaders have condemned it in an unparalleled joint initiative. Here, one would think, is a clear case for intervention by the Socialist President Mitterrand. Unfortunately, the opinion polls show that the voters may dislike almost everything else the Chirac Government has done since it took over in March — but they favour the surrender of precious civil liberties for fear of terrorists, criminals and foreigners. Mr Mitterrand has made no comment so far and his party is pulling its punches. If he suppresses the liberal instincts he showed when he came to office to improve his chances of re-election, he will surely reduce his claim on a second term. This is no time to be saying nothing.

Star Wars encourages Europeans to cooperate

THE most enduring side effect of the US Star Wars programme for Britain may not be the technological crumbs from President Reagan's table, but the impetus it has given to European civil collaboration. In little more than a year the chauvinistically spawned "Eureka" defence initiative by President Mitterrand has been transformed from an anti-SDI scheme into a wide ranging civil programme. In London on Monday, ministers representing 18 European countries endorsed over 60 joint development projects worth £1·4 billion (in addition to 26 existing ones) which will be handled by private enterprise, suitably oiled by public funds. In Britain, the cash — to help research and development costs — will come out of the £300 million Support for Innovation budget. Projects range from research on advanced traffic guidance systems for cars (BL, Daimler-Benz and three other countries) to a do-it-yourself diagnostic kit for sexually transmitted diseases (PA Technology in conjunction with others): Britain is involved in 28 of the projects, most of which would not have gone ahead in the collaborative way they have without the existence of Eureka.

"The Eureka initiative is a belated realisation that if Europe is to provide effective competition for Japan and the United States it must stop duplicating its R and D effort among over a dozen countries and try instead to concentrate scarce resources in key growth areas of the future on a transnational basis. This ought really to be part of a wider Common Technology Policy financed, maybe, from the surplus fat of the CAP, which has outlived its usefulness. Europe now produces too much food and too few products of advanced technology. Such a policy, ideally, would encourage a European technological renaissance by giving fiscal privileges for companies which link up with those in other countries to develop products which can sell on a world scale. Releasing the vast purchasing power of the giant European utilities — particularly the telecommunications monopolies — to buy the products of these new Euro companies (instead of buying from indigenous suppliers) could be a key stage in such a policy. There is also a vital need to develop common standards so that the new companies do not (as witness what happened in the computer games industry) churn out products incompatible with those produced by other European companies.

So far, so good. But one of the ironies is that Britain is now involved in an embryonic industrial strategy in Europe while eschewing such an approach at home. As it bears fruit, what does our government think then?

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Sandinistas crack down on all opposition

By Jean-Claude Buhrer

MANAGUA — "The Sandinistas are doing exactly what they like. What they want is for everybody to fall in with their views and meekly approve the Front's policy. Their sectarianism is prompting them to take an overbearing and condescending attitude towards democratic and anti-imperialist organisations. By doing this they are running the risk of cutting themselves off from the people and becoming a fringe element themselves."

Such language would come as no surprise from a representative of the Nicaraguan Opposition. It is however an indication of the malaise when the speaker happens to be Gustavo Tablada, secretary-general of the pro-Soviet Socialist Party.

A Communist activist for the past 25 years, Tablada studied medicine and later specialised in psychiatry at Moscow's Lumumba University. He told me he had also seen the insides of Somoza's gaols. His party continues to give "considered support" to the revolution, but its criticism can hardly be ignored.

"In the very interests of the revolution and as Marxists," Tablada pointed out, "we cannot go on clinging to an ostrich-like policy and turn a blind eye to the growing signs of general discontent. Imperialist aggression may well have made a substantial contribution to making the situation worse, but we cannot blame imperialism for all our problems."

Even more scathing is Virgilio Godoy, leader of the Independent Liberal Party (PLI), which is squarely in the opposition inside the regime. Godoy belonged to the splinter group of the old Liberal Party which fought against the Somoza dictatorship, and he went some way along with the Sandinistas, serving as Labour Minister until 1984.

Like the 10 or so other parties ranging from the far left to the centre which continue to play by the rules the government has set, the PLI has been severely hit by the suspension of basic freedoms decreed in October 1985. "Theoretically," said Godoy, "the state of emergency and the emergency measures are intended to combat the contras. But it matters little to them. The first to be affected are those who operate within the law. If the contras didn't exist, the government would have to invent them, for it needs them to justify its policy and silence civil dissent."

NICARAGUA, vowing to enforce its state of emergency with greater vigour at the weekend, shut down indefinitely the country's only opposition newspaper, La Prensa. The emergency has been applied at times with too much flexibility, President Daniel Ortega said. "We cannot go on allowing traitors to carry on their shamefaced activities with impunity." ***(Contra bill approved, pages 15/16.***

Because of the emergency, public meetings of the Opposition are banned. Its representatives are barred from access to the media. They can intervene in the Congress, but what they say there is subject to censorship just in case La Prensa, the only Opposition newspaper, wants to report their views. Opposition parliamentarians are rather bitter about it. "The Legislative Assembly," says Godoy, "was created for export. In practice, it has no power, it's a fiction."

Imperialist aggression serves as an alibi for all kinds of intransigent measures. Just recently, 57 workers of the ENAVES textile enterprise were evicted by the police on the grounds that they were preventing others from working. Pointing out that strikes were now illegal, the Labour Minister authorised the immediate dismissal of those involved. An official of the (Communist) General Confederation of Labour (CGT) denounced the dismissals as a denial of trade union freedoms.

Responsible La Prensa sources say that censorship is becoming increasingly nitpicking and arbitrary. The heavy hand of the military and security services can be felt in every area. The security services step in at the slightest hint of a challenge or whenever a group tries to become organised. Whereas Somoza went after the middle-level management, most political prisoners today are not

Continued on page 12

'Anything goes' in the cinema

By ... Braudau

Marco Bellocchio's remake of Raymond Radiguet's celebrated novel "Diable au corps" is banned to filmgoers under 13. In view of some of the scenes in the film, one wonders whether there are any more taboos left in the cinema.

COMING OUT of the showing of Marco Bellocchio's "Diable au corps", where the lovely Maruschka Detmers demonstrates that in love, according to Lao-tse's canon, in addition to the great art of speaking there is also the great art of not saying a word, many film critics asked among themselves whether "fellatio" took one or two l's.

Right before our eyes, a taboo had been demolished. The Commission de Contrôle Cinématographique, incorrectly described as a board of "censorship", has in fact banned the film only to under-13s. Where are we going, people ask? Good question, if we knew where we came from in the first place.

It should be remembered that although the board (Commission) took over from the COIC (Comité d'Organisation de l'Industrie cinematogrpahique) which was set up by Vichy, it is not on the face of it a stronghold of conservatism. The Minister of Culture has the right to overrule its recommendations. The previous minister of culture, Jack Lang, for example, decided against imposing a total ban on a film, which was as good as condemning it to death. As for his successor, François Léotard, we have still not had a chance of judging him.

The board sitting at the Centre National du Cinéma is made up of a wide cross-section of prominent citizens chosen from the realms of psychology, medicine, education and so on. It meets in plenary -ssion twice a week to see the -s preselected by a sub-commit- being controversial. pro- board takes a vote and of reso- the minister a variety ban (the- ranging from a total brated one- been many cele- 1981) to the- none since May certificate (equivalent of a U between are thre- to all). In- on filmgoers under -ees — ban and X (or pornograph- under 18 X-certificate means it is -s). An ly impossible for the film -tical money, since it relegates it -ke circuit in specific cinemas (of 4,0 cinemas in France, 89 are reserved for pornographic films). There is also an X certification for violent films, but it is rarely used, the ban on under-18s being sufficient.

If we move away from violence, where the board is rightly vigilant in view of the proliferation of frankly sadistic films we can pick out in the sexual area eroticism, where "anything" can be shown so long as it is simulated, and pornography, where authentic sexual acts are explicitly depicted. Sequences showing copulation which have nothing really to do with the plot of the story are also considered pornographic.

With the passage of time, subjects have become "freer". Incest and homosexuality can now be raised and the pictures accompanying this trend are increasingly more explicit. Where is the limit today? No longer even in male erections, but rather in violence, drugs, prostitution and generally speaking on everything suggesting a degradation of the human being. The paradox of all this being that the more eyes are opened in the cinema, the more doctors hold congresses to advise us to lead chaste lives.

(June 27)

Old men on tired legs

Pierre Georges sees the French soccer team's exit from the World Cup

As in Seville in 1982, France's soccer team — still suffering from the efforts it put into the game against Brazil on June 21, which it won — was beaten by West Germany on June 25 in the semifinal of the World Cup Championship in Mexico.

GUADALAJARA — This one Mexico's easy-going *mariachis* could well have put into song: "Poor Pancho Villa, what a sad death he met. Dying in an ambush so near journey's end."

Seeing the courageous Luis Fernandez flattened out on the close-cropped grass, twice, thrice, five times as if dealt a deathblow each time; seeing him "do a Jésus" — to borrow Amedeé Domenéch's delightful phrase — with his nose in the molehills on the Jalisco stadium, you remembered another *mariachi* song, the one about poor Rosita; "Life's not like the grass that sprouts up again every month." Nor are all soccer games.

Poor Rosita, poor Fernandez. Poor France, poor us. Hell and damnation. To come so far and founder here, within sight of port, on a familiar and simple rock as thick as the grenadier Briegel's trunk is broad. To defy everything — *turista,* scorpions, altitude, boredom, sun, separation; to resist everybody — Russians, Italians, Brazilians, red and yellow cards; to speed towards one's adventure without a hitch, without a serious injury, without a defeat; to float on a small pink cloud in Guadalajara's skies, to receive telegrams from the President, the Prime Minister, the Colombey-les-Belles supporters' club and pretty nearly from the priest of Saint Cucufa.

And all this for what? To end up sent to the bottom in Guadalajara harbour by the best identified of our denigrators, the most ritual of our persecutors. Guadalajara, Seville all over again! We laugh over it like that, because we've got to laugh and after all because we're used to it. We laugh over it as over a disastrous day on which we suffered a disastrous elimination in a disastrous match by a team that was scarcely less disastrous. We laugh over it as over a piece of trickery. There had been deception over the quality of this semifinal, over its freshness.

People say, but we mustn't believe it for there would be a howl from the whole trade, that some fishmongers, when their wares are no longer quite so fresh, smear the gills of endangered fish with a mellow fresh pink colouring. Not having any such colouring, it has to be said that France's team was no longer very fresh. The legs of course, and the wind, and perhaps the head. Our brave little leaden players had had enough, they were fed up to the back teeth, as Michel Platini put it.

That was it. France's team was beaten two goals to nil. Even so, the second goal was just for laughs, the manic pleasure of the 91st minute. It was beaten by a stronger team, or rather by the physically less weak of the two, Federal Germany's team. You couldn't really say, without being quite rash, that the Germans had reinvented football or even the instrument for battering through defences. But at least they have one abiding quality — stamina. Like a wine which has body. They have bulging calves and they don't get winded.

After the match, Franz Beckenbauer put it out modestly and with a nice touch of hypocrisy that he was sorry for the French team. He wasn't, not for a moment. Are you ever sorry when you have a won and qualified for the final, for the second time in a row? Franz Beckenbauer is a lousy diplomat. But what he didn't say and what 50,000 spectators and millions of television viewers would have said in his place is that this semifinal was distressing, a washout, mediocre, boring. In short, unworthy of two teams vying for the supreme triumph.

We can say this the moment the responsibility for it does not fall on the teams themselves. They did what they could with what they had left. The fierce desire to keep chasing the dream and a nagging temptation to end it all. The desire and the incapacity. The World Cup demands too much from teams. Two months of living under a watch glass or in a hothouse. Soccer morning, noon and evening, one game after another, like a spring constantly kept taut which finally loses its tension.

A team cannot with impunity play three top-level games in the course of a week. From one Tuesday to Wednesday week, France's team had to meet Italy, Brazil and Federal Germany — a rather trying triad. True, the regulations apply to everybody and there are no grounds for contesting them after the event. But we can deplore them, express regret. Playing hard, demanding and repeated games at an altitude between 1,500 and 2,000 metres is the most certain way of obtaining what we got, what we suffered on Wednesday — a game all wrinkled like an old apple.

France's is an old team. It had sufficient skill, technique and expertise in covering up to successfully conceal that fact until that moment. Then with the fatigue, the physical and moral weariness, aided by Brazil (for the players had not got over that match), the French players all looked all old, tuckered out and pretty clumsy. They are not usually like that. But a World Cup is not a normal time.

As you came away from the ground which had become completely, but belatedly Francophile, you heard people saying what a load of rubbish. Good souls who said the French players were too sure of making it to the top, that they had swollen heads, that they underestimated their adversaries' square skulls, that they were making a great song and dance about crashing through their flank to wreak easy revenge for Seville.

Things are so much simpler. They were not so much puffed up as pooped. Like racing cyclists, they just couldn't negotiate the last pass at Guadalajara. And it's nothing scandalous or appalling. The misfortune had befallen others in the Mundial — USSR, Denmark, Spain, Italy.

Besides, was the West German team in much better shape than France's? The German players were lucky to score first. In this disastrous part of the game they scored what was obviously a disastrous goal. A very bad mistake by Joël Bats who let the ball through. Admittedly Andreas Brehme's kick was a cannonball.

This goal from a free kick (in the tenth minute) as it were condemned the more tired of the two teams to run after the match, to engage in an uphill battle. It was an encouragement to the other side. Hold on to the advantage, counterattack; that was obviously the tactic. And these German players did just that, though without brilliance, but without letting up.

In short, everything has been said, and the only regret one could have is to see the French side leaving the Mundial the way it entered it — in felt slippers and crippled by rheumatism. It's not a picture that squares with its qualities and its success here. No- is it the exit hoped for by severa- its members who certainly w- be winning the World Cup - time. This misfortune is shared - a few Brazilians too, the 30-ye- olds for example. But that's - consolation.

(June 27)

Surrealism swept through all the arts like a ^is^ *who and if it has not disappeared today without* ' *when because of the efforts of one man, André P died 20 years ago and was consecrated* ,*re, which he was not even a believer.*

An exhibition organised by Jo sonality cult brings together the objects of ,*Breton. These and 300 pictures, pays homa* ,*e Dunoyer points "votive offerings" are, as Jea* ,*ement which was out, the visible part of* ,*he fundamental basis working deep undergrour of modern awareness.* ,*In federation, during half*

Autocratic and a b,*ly prospected, accompanied a century Breton t*,*essive waves of the surrealist and followed the movement which even before the publication of the 1924 "Manifeste" rallied creative people from every sphere under the banner of the dream.*

The pioneers are represented in the exhibition — Gustave Moreau, Henri Rousseau ("Le Douanier") and Victor Hugo (Breton pronounced Hugo to be a "surrealist when he's not stupid"), one of whose astonishing wash drawings can be seen at the Artcurial.

Of course, the major artists of the pioneering surrealist group have not been omitted, ranging range from Max Ernst to Man Ray, from Yves Tanguy to Francis Picabia. Nor have the artists who briefly passed through the surrealist phase been forgotten — Klee and Kandinsky. And Picasso, who maintained a special relationship with Breton despite the "bad company" the painter kept, served as a bridge to the second wave formed by René Magritte, André Masson and Salvador Dali.

During the war, Breton recruited sufficient numbers to form a third wave — citizens of the "conquered Americas" like Marshall Calder, Arshile Gorky and Roberto Matta.

Battling endlessly to make sure the irrational was re-established in all its manifestations, Breton pursued his adventure right up to his death. An adventure which is the total justification of this fine exhibition. Our particular thanks for which are due to to Julien Gracq, who has made of André Breton "a hero of our times."

The 'pope' of surrealism and his converts

By Jean-Marie Dunoyer

"THE NUCLEUS of the surrealist comet which swept through the 20th century . . ." says José Pierre, describing André Breton. The author of "Madja" would have been 86 on February 18 and September 28 will see the 20th anniversary of his death.

Without Breton, without his uncompromising vigilance and his often irritating intolerance, the surrealist comet, whatever the talents and even genius of the group's members, would have quickly scattered. Calling him pope of surrealism was meant to be derisive. A more apt title cound hardly have been found.

An infallible pontiff? He behaved like one. May his spirit pardon us if (according to what rites?) we rediscover his real presence at the centre of the exhibition, in this red room in which his secret museum has been reconstituted, his familiar world, the objects of his personality cult shot through with magical powers.

It was, of course, necessary to submit to a whole initiatory itinerary, and you will not be surprised that José Pierre has based it on the fine arts. For are these votive offerings not the visible tip of a movement which did its work in depth on the fundamental facts of modern awareness? It is doubtless putting the emphasis on the aesthetic aspect of an action which willy-nilly set out to be ethical. But art thrives on misunderstandings.

Marcel Duchamp is here, in the company of others to testify to the fact that before the 1924 "Manifeste" was published there was more than one painter who had shown the way and opened Breton's eyes — Gustave Moreau, Henri Rousseau, Paul Gauguin, Charles Filiger and Victor Hugo. Not to mention Giorgio De Chirico in the period before 1920 when he had a decisive impact on the surrealist conception of painting.

Among the 300-odd paintings which the Artcurial has gathered together we can distinguish Max Ernst's magical spells and petrified *forests*, Yves Tanguy's "dreadful, aerial, subterranean and maritime ornamentations", Picabia's dream mechanisms, Man Ray's inventive marvels, Hans Arp s imaginative forms and Joan Miró's Eden rediscovered.

For us this is reassuring about the specificity of a certain kind of painting which was given a helping hand by several major temporary guests such as Klee and Kandinsky. If the ties with Alberto Giacometti were quickly and abruptly cut, Picasso's case becomes more intriguing. For anyone disconcerted to see him recruited into Breton's camp, it is important to emphasise the special relationship the two men had, despite the "bad company" the painter kept and which, had he been a lesser artist, would have caused an immediate break.

At any rate, Picasso had the whip hand over the '30s "Minotaure" flock, where Breton remains the behind-the-scenes manipulator. His seven-year reign corresponded to the emergence of a second wave of surrealist painters — René Magritte, André Masson, Raoul Ubac and above all Salvador Dali with his critical-paranoid methods and his far too skilfully managed frenzy ("Le spectre et le Fantôme").

During the war, Breton, exiled in the United States, renewed contacts with many friends (Masson, Miro). He also recruited sufficient numbers of artists to form a third wave — such fellow travellers as Isabel Waldberg and Jacques Herold, citizens of the "reconquered Americas" like Marshall Calder, Arshile Gorky, Roberto Matta, without forgetting Meret Oppenheim, Wolfgang Paalen, and the invincible Leonora Carrington. Finally, the return to a liberated Europe of such a "contagious" Breton won over artists as different as Télémaque, Alechinsky and Hantaï. Breton brought from the tropics, along with Wifredo Lam, the whole baleful cruelty of the jungle, which in this way joined up with the magical art of prehistory and modern times, the only art in which he believed.

His dense dialectic was aimed at putting the irrational back in its rightful place. It brought together under the same banner art as "the medium of magic", whether it was anti-historical, the work of modern primitives (like Adolf Wolffi, for example) or whether it was the unwilling expression of the innermost truth of creatures apparently integrated in our civilisation. In the circumstances, objects still under a magic spell, masques, stone hatchets or whalebone clubs stand cheek-by-jowl with the most recent paintings. Hopi dolls fraternise with Hans Bellmer's creations. Breton's adventure, tenaciously pursued over a good 50 years, was worth the experience and justifies the thanks of Julien Gracq who has turned him into "a hero of our times".



Salvador Dali's The Lugubrious Game.

"L'aventure surréaliste autour d'Andre Breton", at the Artcurial, 9 Avenue Matignon, Paris. Until July 31. Catalogue-cum-book by José Pierre with an introduction by Robert Lebel. Editions Filipacchi-Artcurial.

Sandinistas crack down on all opposition

Continued from page 11

bosses, but grassroots activists. While estimates of their number vary, the National Assembly has received over 2,000 petitions seeking pardon solely for political prisoners condemned to between three and six years in gaol and who have served half their terms.

The people are kept strictly in line by the Sandinist Defence Committees (CDS) which Minister of the Interior Tomas Borge described as "the eyes and the ears of the revolution". Organised on a neighbourhood basis and modelled on the Cuban example, the CDS serve as a channel for passing down the regime's directives.

The other parties criticise them for not operating democratically, for encouraging informers and carrying out political proselytisation. Many Nicaraguans complain that minor CDS heads or officials are abusing their positions by forcing them to attend Sandinist meetings or in the distribution of ration cards and even the allocation of housing. "The CDS are constantly blackmailing the people, especially at a time of shortages," noted Socialist Party member Julio Morales.

The discontent has grown with worsening supply problems and the continued economic stagnation. "We have shortages of everything" is one phrase heard everywhere. Cooking oil, sugar, rice and soap are rationed. There are severe shortages of medicines and spare parts. But everything can be obtained, including petrol, at prohibitive black-market prices. The austerity plan decreed in 1985 in a bid to combat speculation did nothing to help. On the contrary, it caused the prices of staple products, until then subsidised, to soar.

Customers at the Ciudad Jardin supermarket have to identify themselves, that is to produce their ration cards, to enter. Long queues form at shelves offering detergents and Polish-made soap powder. The shelves are half empty and offer tins of Soviet sardines or canned meat from Bulgaria.

The Sandinist leaders themselves acknowledge that the "economic situation is becoming more tragic every day". The lack of foreign currency for importing equipment and raw materials is leading to a growing industrial paralysis. The production of beans, corn and rice has substantially diminished. Herds are also dwindling. "Throughout their history," pointed out Tablada, "the Nicaraguan people had been able to produce their basic food."

With the State apparatus growing ever larger, another scourge has taken on disquieting proportions — corruption. In fact a year ago a special commission was set up to combat it. The government sees it primarily as something inherited from the Somoza dictatorship, but the leftwing and rightwing Opposition challenge that analysis.

In the view of Avance, the organ of the Communist Party, which is independent of Moscow, "the basic cause of corruption lies in the Sandinista Front's conception of government". As examples, the magazine points to the salaries of government members and senior government servants which are "kept secret" and the privileges they enjoy. A Social-Christian Party official said this was caused by the emergence of a "group of favoured people in the society, especially those who occupy leading positions in the ruling party."

The people feel the weight of the sacrifices imposed on them all the more keenly as there is a minority which couldn't care less. While the bulk of the population scrapes around to make ends meet, a new *nomenklatura* does its shopping in special stores.

"Everything for the war, everything for the combatants." The defence effort is No. 1 priority.

While the economy is going to the dogs, the army and the security services are functioning far more efficiently. With more than 100,000 men under arms, Nicaragua has by far the biggest army in Central America. Well equipped by the Soviet Union and officered by Cuban advisers it has never been seriously stretched by the 15,000 contras it is fighting.

"Insidiously but surely," commented an intellectual, "the Sandinistas are in the process of squandering the vast fund of sympathy the revolution managed to garner in its early days and even, to a certain extent, in the 1984 elections. We conducted this revolution so as to be masters of our own destiny. But these fanatical fops who were only a minority have presumptuously appropriated the key posts so as to do as they like. By their obstinacy, they are dragging us into an East-West confrontation; they want to commit us to an open war against the United States. Without paying attention to either the situation of Central America or the burden that an army of 100,000 represents for a small country of barely 3 million people, they are dreaming of a new Vietnam so as to test their theories."

With little consideration for the reservations of a public kept in line, the Sandinista commanders seem to have deliberately chosen to run before the storm.

(June 24)

East German youth finds a rela[tive] taste of freedom in Prague

PRAGUE'S beer-halls, the stamping ground of the Good Soldier Schweik, have long been celebrated as a kind of free zone where ordinary citizens, after a glass or two of Czech beer (an excellent brew), can vent their ire against those in authority, whoever they may be. U Fleku, the city's oldest beer-hall, has recently become the rallying point of young nonconformists from East Germany.

By Luc Rosenzweig

PRAGUE — The arrival of spring is always welcomed by Prague's inhabitants, as it provides them with their first opportunity to jump into their Skodas and do some gardening or odd jobs in their country dachas. But it is also an event that is greeted with jubilation on the other side of the Erzgebirge mountains which separate the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from the German Democratic Republic.

Dresden, East Berlin and even Rostock on the Baltic are agog with the news that the River Vltava (the Moldau immortalised by Bedrich Smetana) is bathed in sunshine, and that at U Fleku they have put the tables out in the courtyard.

Why, you may ask, is news of Prague's most celebrated beer-hall of such compelling interest to the citizens of East Germany? The answer is simple: Czechoslovakia is the only foreign country that East German nationals may visit without having to procure a visa, the only State whose border they may cross armed simply with their ordinary identity card.

This "anomaly" means that the citizens of the State with the most watertight borders ever devised by man can kill two birds with one stone at little cost: they can enjoy a change of scenery and slake their thirst on the excellent beer that is brewed in Bohemia (claimed by some to be the best in the world).

The beer-hall which everyone makes for, and which was once frequented by such famous names as Rainer Maria Rilke, Franz Kafka and Egon Erwin Kisch, is U Fleku. For over 500 years, the Flek family have been brewing strong, dark ale that is sold and drunk only on their own premises.

After consulting a guide to Prague's best beer-halls, I paid a visit to U Fleku, which is located in a nondescript street in the Nove Mesto quarter. A curious sight met my eyes when I walked through the establishment's Gothic door and into its large inner courtyard: some 500 young people, most of them men, with a sprinkling of women and children, seemed to have set up house there for the weekend.

It did not matter that with their long hair and faded blue jeans they had a slightly dated air: they had come to commune with one another and celebrate their nonconformism, their repudiation of the East German model of society.

There was, it seemed to me, only one false note. These young people, who had rejected the blue uniform of the East German Communist Youth, had opted for a similar sartorial uniformity — in only a slightly different shade of blue — which destroyed their individuality in precisely the same way as the regime they despised.

For a moment I wondered whether I had not wandered into a den of "hooligans," as drop-outs are known here. But any such doubts were soon allayed when I sat down and struck up a conversation with the people at the same table, who had kindly squeezed up against each other even more tightly to make room for me.

Jürgen, a locksmith from Magdeburg, said: "Ninety-nine per cent of the people drinking here have come from the GDR. You see, Prague is a kind of ersartz Munich for us. Every year we dream of going to the Oktoberfest — and end up in Prague."

Jürgen's three days off work were put to good use. First he had spent eight hours on the train that crawls through Prussia, Saxony and Bohemia. He had then had to find lodgings in some distant suburb of Prague — central hotels are reserved for customers who pay in hard currency, such as West Germans, French and British.

East German tourists have to eke out the meagre local currency allowance they get from the authorities (the equivalent of £11 per person). Some prefer to do without accommodation at all: every evening, scores of young people who have blown all their cash on several dozen beers at U Fleku can be seen in Prague's modern railway station sprawled on their duvets and waiting to take the train home the following morning.

Jürgen and his friends were keen to look at my copy of the West German daily, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. One roly-poly young fellow who was a little the worse for wear sobered up for a moment as he eagerly scanned the paper, which although written in his own language was so strange to him it might just as well have been written in double Dutch.

He was fascinated by the advertising, and in particular by the offer of a special cut-price trip to Canada. "What if one of us sent in the application form?" His quip fell rather flat. More beers were ordered from one of U Fleku's many efficient waiters, and the conversation drifted on to the next-best thing to the Seychelles available to the East Berlin worker — a sun-drenched package holiday in Bulgaria.

One of the drinkers asked if French young people also wore long hair. He seemed very disappointed to learn that the fashion had changed and that really trendy Frenchmen now preferred "short back and sides."

"Our long hair is the only way we have of protesting against the State," said Jürgen. People like him have not yet outgrown the spirit of May 1968 because they [n]ever really lived through it.

[P]erhaps that explains why th[e] East Germans are not all alen[...]n on meeting their equiv[alent] flock [fro]m West Germany, who numbers [...]ue in similarly large they do n[o]w [in sp]ringtime. They find them, as th[ey] [...]e much to say to worlds and [...]'ve in different wavelengths. different

You can do thing[s] which are not allowed b[y] Prague regime in East Germany[,] strict write a letter to your fa[vourite] West German disc jockey. In [...]te Berlin you can listen to his p[ro]gramme but not post him a letter.

From time to time the police drop by to make sure that things are not getting out of hand at U Fleku. The young East Germans are not worried by Czech policemen, for they are used to having to deal with cops made of harder stuff, their own Vopos, who can close down a bar in less time than it takes to bark *Polizeistunde* (which indicates that everyone must go home quietly).

Despite the austerity of Czech socialism, East Germans on the binge seem to find Prague especially congenial. For them, U Fleku still possesses the charm of a world where the spirit of the Good Soldier Schweik lives on. The boozer and loudmouth immortalised by Erwin Piscator seems to be egging them on to use the best weapon of the weak in the face of the oppressor: wit and sarcasm.

Paris delegates get grim warning on Aids spread

Over two thousand delegates last week attended the International Congress on Aids (Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome) at the Palais des Congrès in Paris, which will be followed by a world congress on sexually transmissible diseases. The latest statistics show the extent and rate of growth of what has become one of the most worrying public health problems of this century.

Africa has 50,000 sufferers and two million others are carriers. In the United States, 22,500 people are suffering from Aids and between one and two million more carry the virus. Europe has a total of 2,542 Aids victims, with 707 of them in France — the worst affected European country — where 100,000 to 200,000 are carriers.

Far from being contained as had been hoped, the Aids epidemic is steadily expanding. Apparently no continent, not a single country in the East or West, North or South has been spared by this retrovirus which clearly came into being in the heart of the equatorial forest and whose destructive effects have been carried to the four corners of the earth as a result of sexual promiscuity and the intercontinental movement of people.

The US Department of Health estimates that in five years that country will have 145,000 Aids cases (3,000 of them young children) and that the death rate from Aids will be higher than the road accident toll. In Europe, the rate of increase of Aids cases has been 163 per cent in a year.

The extraordinarily high cost of treating Aids victims sets a serious problem for all the nations concerned. Already in North America, it exceeds the aggregate cost of treating all other infectious diseases. It is evident that African countries will not be able to cope with a tragedy on such a scale which in these countries affect as many women and children as men. Given what some people are calling the "potential genocide" of black Africa, Western nations are toying with a project for offering substantial assistance which would presumably be centralised and channelled by the World Health Organisation. Funds obtained from the sale of Aids screening packs would apparently be used for this purpose.

If the plan materialises, it could put an end to the rivalry between the French and Americans who are engaged in a ludicrous fratricidal struggle in the face of a tragedy which should be mobilising all the resources of modern science.

By Dr Claudine Escoffier-Lambiotte

TWO THOUSAND five hundred participants, including many Africans, 200 papers presented at meetings, 700 others elected to special committees. The success of the Paris aids congress demonstrates the worldwide awareness of this growing problem.

The congress, chaired by Prof. Jean-Claude Gluckman and Prof. Luc Montagnier, has been jointly organised with the World Health Organisation which has just published a report on Aids.

As of March 31, 1986, there were 50,000 Aids cases in Africa, 22,500 in the United States and 2,542 in the 17 European states (in the West and the East) which are cooperating with a special centre set by WHO (altogether 29 countries are members of this centre, the latest to join being East Germany, Israel and Romania). Since 1981, Aids cases have been increasing at an annual rate of 163 per cent in Europe. It is further thought that in North America, between 20 and 30 per cent of Aids-induced deaths are not reported as such for various sociopsychological reasons.

Aids has become the leading cause of death among men between the ages of 30 and 39 in New York City and the US Department of Health estimates that in five years the US will have 145,000 Aids cases (3,000 of them children) with 55,000 deaths a year, which is well above the annual number of road deaths (45,000 in 1985).

Up to March 31 this year, there were 707 Aids cases and 320 deaths from the disease; ten new cases of Aids are diagnosed every week. Most of those affected are homosexuals or bisexuals (68 per cent), but between 60 and 75 per cent of haemophiliacs have been infected through blood transfusions and 50 per cent of drug addicts as a result of sharing syringes. Statistics provided by blood transfusion centres (which now routinely screen all donors for the virus) show there are between 100,000 and 200,000 French citizens who have been infected.

The number of infected persons in the United States is 2 million, and it is higher still in Africa where meagre health budgets for the moment rule out taking any protective screening measures. President Ronald Reagan recently gave $2 million to WHO to help set up such preventive measures. This sum is equivalent to the income obtained from patents on the screening tests — income which the French and the Americans are quarrelling over.

Apart from the physical and psychological suffering that the disease entails, its economic effects on the countries concerned are considerable.

A study of the first 10,000 cases reported in the United States shows that the cost of caring for them was as high as $6.3 billion, and that they took up a total of 1.6 million hospital days, usually in intensive care units. Compared with this, the treatment of lung cancer in the US cost $1.6 billion (a quarter of the cost of Aids cases) and road accidents victims $6.7 billion. By now the cost of Aids alone is equal to and has even overtaken the total US health budget for all other infectious diseases.

Ninety per cent of the Aids victims (and deaths) are aged between 20 and 49. "Never before," notes a young American houseman, "have we seen so many young subjects, up to then in good health, die so quickly without medicine — which we used to think was all-powerful — being able to do anything for them." And he urges that special training be given to resident doctors who have to cope with stress situations that are both technically and psychologically unprecedented.

It has also led to an unprecedented situation for underwriting firms and friendly societies whose representatives are also present in Paris. They also attended the two previous world conferences on Aids held in Atlanta and Brussels. Several of these companies (especially British firms) want to be able to demand proof that a future client has not had a positive test to the virus before agreeing to insure him. In view of the ethical protests this decision has raised, they are now considering the possibility of setting up a high-risk underwriting pool which would absorb the $150,000 that an Aids victim costs on an average. (The amount represents only average hospitalisation costs. To this must be added treatment at home, medicines, costs of classifying the patient as an invalid and, of course, life insurance.)

The sobering prospect of half a million Aids cases spread throughout Africa, America and Europe, not to mention the four to five million carriers (which proportion of them will actually develop the disease is unknown), justifies the extent of the scientific efforts being undertaken to hasten the development (if this should prove possible) both of a vaccine and an

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MICHÈLE BARZACH, France's Health Minister, announced on June 23 that the law banning condom manufacturers from advertising their products was to be repealed. The decision is one of the measures being taken in the campaign against Aids.

The law the minister referred to is Article 282 of the Code on Public Health pertaining to the prevention of venereal diseases and Article 5 of the Law of December 28, 1967. The article provides for penalties ranging from six months to two years in gaol and fines of F2,000 to F20,000 for anyone disseminating birth control propaganda.

(June 25)

It's time for our leaders to adopt a little more humility

By André Fontaine

WHEN he was President, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing used to keep saying that th French wanted to be governed "at centre". He was even heard to say priv that it would be a "tragedy" if the Sr of did not enter the Majority — his M rt and course — during his Presidency. all that.

The Socialists did nothing of the overall the "tragedy" did not take pl power-sharing But the fact remains, judg nch do indeed trend of opinion polls or the centre" as arrangement, that that aspire to be governed. Even if the logic Giscard d'Estaing ent on universal suf- of electing a the vast majority of the frage, to whattached, by that very fact French are son into two.

divides that class is not unaware of this

The rmind, but tends to see only state rstanding and simplicity in what is mis more the reflection of an immense griness with the civil war, whether it is ody or verbal, of a growing scepticism about men and ideologies that reality has too often contradicted, and of the conviction that only if we are united can we face squarely the challenges of a world less inclined than ever to make us any concessions. After all, wasn't this the spirit of the "coming together" that was tirelessly preached and extolled by De Gaulle who had no qualms about making ministers of state of such men as Maurice Thorez (Communist) in 1945 and Guy Mollet (Socialist) in 1958?

Cohabitation (power-sharing), such as it is practised today, is of course only an imitation of union. General de Gaulle held all the cards. The present diarchy can take no other course but refrain from bringing about a mutual erosion of the powers with which it is linked. As a result, it has to be said for it that it is curbing the tendency ingrained in our history which so easily makes us ardent champions of one rival "ism" after another until the foreseeable defeat of one prompts us to rediscover the other's charms.

Five years ago, most French people thought they had found the answer to everything in socialism. They were going to wipe out unemployment, take the country into the modern era and, to cut a long story short, not modify society as Jacques Chaban-Delmas (under Georges Pompidou's Presidency) in his determined way attempted to do, but replace it with another. The disappointment was as great as the illusion, even if the Socialist government's conversion to the facts of running the country demonstrated there was an undeniable capacity for wise government within the left.

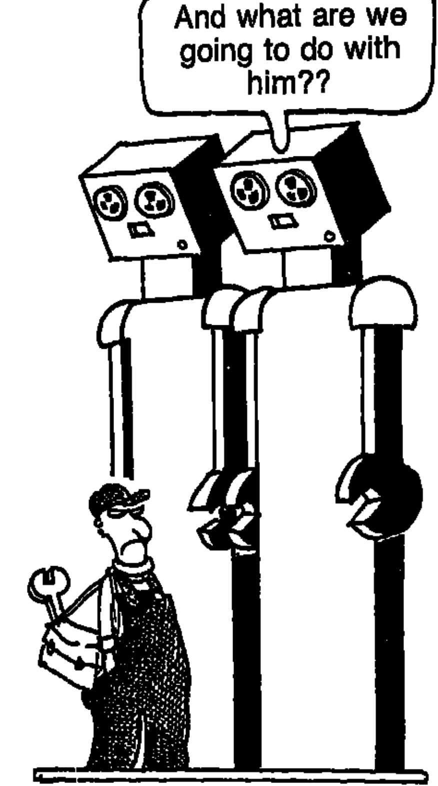
Liberalism is the fashion today. Its apostles had not always preached this gospel. Neither Giscard d'Estaing, nor Jacques Chirac nor Raymond Barre behaved in a particularly liberal fashion when they were in power. Apart from the fact that France did not wait for Colbert to become Colbertist, the characters and ideas of these men were forged after the Liberation, that is, at a time when, in the light of the 1929 crisis and the terrible war it led to, the inadequacy of individualism and free movement was thought to be a self-evident truth. We knew very well it took Roosevelt's command policy and his National Recovery Act to lift the American people out of the despair in which they had let themselves be bogged down and put them in a condition to become the victors in 1945. It was clear that without the Marshall Plan and the Monnet Plan France would never have succeeded in rising up from its ruin. Keynes seemed to have quite definitely taken over from Adam Smith; Friedrich von Hayek was preaching in the desert and no one in Europe challenged the validity of a large-scale system of social protection.

For the trend to reverse direction, it was not enough for the left to lose its main battle on employment, there had to be an alternative model. The present liberal fashion would be inconceivable without Reagan's success which has made people lose sight of the reverses suffered by another liberal, Margaret Thatcher. It is this same Reagan, whom scarcely anyone in France took seriously before his election, who has today become a practically infallible beacon for a segment of public opinion in this country.

But the core element that too many of our neo-liberals fail to take into consideration when they claim to be Reaganist is that his economic credo counts for less in his success than the media phenomenon he represents. After two decades of humiliations, the United States chose as their leader an all-round champion in the communications field, a winner, a Tapie (Bernard Tapie, a bustling entrepreneur who has made a name for himself by taking over ailing companies and turning them around), a political Rambo whose looks have in no way been marred by his age. What he symbolises primarily is national pride, and with him the reconciliation of a whole nation which needs to believe in its "manifest destiny", in its capacity for pushing back ever farther the frontiers of its ambitions.

It is this ambition, this refound pride, this confidence in the President which is at the heart of the American recovery, as much as an admittedly necessary deregulation but which alone would not have succeeded in helping a discouraged people to take off. It is in their name that the American State, liberal though it may be, has passed on orders in the armaments and space sectors, orders which have been instrumental in reactivating production. But the Challenger tragedy as well as recent setbacks with rocket launchers are there to show that combing the two mainsprings of national ambition and freedom of enterprise is not enough to automatically give a competitive edge in the rivalry with a system, as incredibly bureaucratic and cumbersome as that of the USSR, which has quite clearly forged ahead in the space race. And if people do still speak of the Strategic Defence Initiative, so as not to upset Reagan, is there anyone who still believes it will ever provide the United States with that impenetrable shield it was supposed to deploy in space?

There are a good many other shortcomings on the other side of the Reaganist picture — the inadequacy of social protection; the impoverishment of too many poor people; substantial unemployment among the young and especially among Blacks; illiteracy; crime, which restoring the death penalty is not preventing from reaching proportions far in excess of ours; the budget deficit (when he was running for the Presidency, Reagan promised to go back to balanced budgets) and a foreign trade deficit which for the first time in this century has turned the United States into a net debtor nation; and even more, of course, the enormous indebtedness of client states, like Mexico; this is the real Damocles' sword hanging over the entire world economy.



Drawing by Plantu.

Recalling these facts, which the apostles of liberalism are rather too apt to lose sight of, does not mean pleading for a return to yesterday's illusions. It is merely a warning against the illusions that are so frequently expressed today. Less government, less regulation, less bureaucracy? Why, of course. Which Socialist wouldn't agree with that? More incentives to private initiative? Certainly. But, all the same, let's not throw the baby out with the bathwater. Let's not lose sight of the fact that in a country as centralised as ours, with an administration whose influence and cohesion have only been further strengthened by the existence of the ENA (Ecole Nationale d'Administration, which turns out the State's super civil servants) — which has never before been so extensively represented in the government as it is today — the State has nearly always played a key role in providing direction and dynamism to the economy, not to mention research, in which by some tragic peculiarity it appears to be less and less interested. Even the most liberal entrepreneurs are the first to look to the State when they do not not know where else to turn.

There is something else. Not everybody is like that, and surely not Jacques Chirac nor his Minister of Social Affairs (Philippe Seguin), but too many of our new leaders appear to have a pretty hazy idea of what life is like in the world today for the unemployed, the poor, the spurned, the humiliated and the down-and-outs. Let them not forget that the advances made by European society over the last 100 years consisted primarily of better defending the weak against the powerful, even if such protection occasionally did take discouraging and even ridiculous turns.

In this area, there are gestures which have a symbolic value. The wealth tax was admittedly ill-conceived, and the requirement of preliminary administrative authorisation for laying off staff obviously did not encourage hiring. But were there not more urgent priorities than doing away with both these? The negative reaction brought to light by opinion polls is significant on this point. Nothing would be more tragic, not only for the experiment now under way but for the nation, than to give the impression that one social class, whose privileges were at one time under threat, is seeking revenge on another, and that money will once again have the final say in everything, including the media. Unfortunately, it is not by rushing to forget and forgive people who flouted tax regulations or the ban on taking capital out of the country that this impression is going to be corrected.

(June 25)

Aids

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effective treatment.

While waiting for this victory, which the researchers I have spoken to believe might take as little as five to ten years, the only positive element lies in the low level of contagiousness of the virus, which is spread only through blood and sperm.

The results of a two-year study of all nursing personnel in California who have to deal with Aids cases every day are quite clear on this point. Of the 1,000-odd persons who had been followed up clinically and screened, only two women nurses caught the virus. As a result of a handling error, the nurses had suffered deep pricks from an infected syringe which had been used to draw blood from an Aids patient. Now these male and female nurses who 24 hours a day care for, with unmatched devotion, severely sick patients and cope with their spittle, blood losses, their infected wounds, diarrhoea and vomiting are clearly the most exposed segment of the population.

Sixty-eight per cent of the declared Aids cases noted in France are homosexuals, 4 per cent drug addicts, 3.6 per cent are victims of a contaminated blood transfusion and 0.5 per cent haemophiliacs. With the development of screening tests, the last two categories of persons can now be protected. The fear of Aids will perhaps provide drug addicts with a valid reason for "blowing their minds" in a different way. And the efforts being made by the world's homosexual community should help to limit, if not stop, the progress of the disease in its midst.

Unfortunately, the situation is very worrying in Africa where as many women (hence the children they bear) are affected as men. Africa is now pinning all its hopes on the discovery of a vaccine.

Extent of epidemic in Africa

By Frank Nouchi

SIX out of 100 Africans have the Aids virus. It has taken the courage of a Zairean physician, Dr Bila Kapita of the Mama Yemo General Hospital in Kinshasa, for the world to get an idea of the extent of the epidemic in Africa.

"We know today," he said "that Aids is rampant nearly all over Africa." Right from the moment he began reading his paper, the delegates at the Palais des Congrès sensed that the "law of silence" which had been imposed on the subject for nearly five years by leading African governments was going to be broken. "The significance of the Aids problem in Africa hasn't still been clearly grasped for several reasons, the principal one being the wilful or unwitting indifference shown by some countries towards Aids."

In spite of that, explained Dr Kapita, it was possible to get some idea of the infection's real impact. "East Africa (Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda) and more southerly parts of the continent (Zambia, Malawi) show a high frequency — from 8 to 23 per cent — compared with the central and western part of Africa (Zaire, Congo, Central Africa, Senegal) where the frequency varies between 4 and 6 per cent." On the whole, he added, "the sero-positive frequency for Africa in general is around 6 per cent." This means that six out of 100 Africans have already been infected by the virus. In Kinshasa, for example, out of a population of 3 million, 128,000 people have so far been infected and are thus contagious.

As for the number who will subsequently develop clinically recognised Aids, Dr Kapita admitted it was difficult to make a precise calculation, but thought that between "one and two per cent of asymptomatic sero-positive cases would go on to develop Aids within a year".

This hidden or latent epidemic poses a threat mostly to women with several male partners, the men they have sexual relations with, poor people, people who have received blood transfusions from unknown donors, and children exposed to heavy or accidental infection. Aids is an urban disease and in Africa it affects as many men (average age: 34) as women (average age: 29). In the Rwandan capital of Kigali 18 per cent of the population is sero-positive. The corresponding figure for Kinshasa is 6.5 per cent.

In certain high-risk groups, the figures go very high. According to Dr Kapita, 89 per cent of the prostitutes in Kigali are sero-positive; the corresponding figures are 59 per cent for Nairobi and 27 per cent for Kinshasa.

African Aids is clinically different from Western Aids. It is distinguished in particular by some common symptoms such as weight loss, fever and diarrhoea.

Another point raised by Dr Kapita was the origins of the disease. "The origins of the causal agent are unknown," he said, "but we think the causal agent was introduced or emerged around 1975." That said, there is nothing to show that Africa is the cradle of Aids.

Dr Kapita's paper was a bombshell, particularly as he was speaking without the authorisation of Zaire's Health Ministry.

(June 25)

The Washington Post

Congress Votes For Surrogate War On Nicaragua

By Joanne Omang

WASHINGTON — The U.S. House of Representatives in effect declared limited, surrogate war on Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government last week, voting to give President Reagan the funding, the tools and the political support he has been seeking for four years. The 221-to-209 decision, almost certain to be ratified by the Senate in July, was appropriately narrow for an issue that has split the nation's policymakers as have few others since Vietnam. But it came cleanly, after bitter, lengthy and excruciatingly detailed debate, and it provided a wholesale commitment.

No one contends that $100 million in new aid will give the counter-revolutionaries, or contras, military victory over the Sandinistas or bring peace to the region. The question is whether the House vote will be the turnng point that ends the fundamental policy debate, as did Congress's 1984 decision to aid President Jose Napoleon Duarte of nearby El Salvador. U.S. interest in El Salvador now focuses on whether the policy is working, rather than on what the policy should be. Whether that will be the case in Nicaragua appears to hang on the contras' military performance after military aid starts on September 1.

The House agreed that Reagan may use the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Department and any other agency he pleases to provide the contras with $70 million in arms, training, transport and advice and $30 million in food, clothing and medicine. Democratic nations in the region will receive $300 million in economic aid, and all of it will be subject to strict — but confidential — accounting practices.

There were all-night parties in the rebels' jungle camps, while squabbling contra factions here found common cause and embraced. With Congress committed, they felt themselves becoming an irresistible force. In a year, "we will be seeing cracks in the Sandinista structure," predicted Alfonso Robelo, one of three top contra leaders.

The Sandinistas responded by swearing to become an immovable object. They retaliated, closing down the only critical newspaper and vowing redoubled defiance to U.S. demands. "To war you respond with war," President Daniel Ortega declared.

To win, administration officials had to overcome critics' charges that the contras were puppets of the CIA, hopelessly divided, inept and leaderless; that they were corrupt and involved in drug traffic, and that they had committed major human rights violations that cost them popular support. After lengthy negotiations, contra leaders announced unity and said their ranks were open to all, such as Eden "Commander Zero" Pastora, who have so far refused to join. They promised to hold a leadership selection convention.

The administration issued a point-by-point rebuttal of House Foreign Affairs subcommittee charges that earlier aid might have been diverted, and Senate Republican leaders promised a vote on whether to use subpoenas to probe other, more serious allegations of drug trafficking and gun-running.

The contras set up their own human rights office. The new aid will provide funds for that office, a congressional bipartisan monitoring commission, a six-member accounting team and military training that stresses human rights. Rebel leaders insisted they welcome all congressional investigation and will be open to media scrutiny, and they said that despite the lack of U.S. military aid for more than two years, their ranks have swelled to nearly 20,000.

The administration also had to deal with U.S. public opinion polls that show 62 percent opposed to contra aid and supporting negotiations instead. Two weeks before the House vote, the Contadora peace talks, approaching and withdrawing from a treaty agreement with tide-like regularity, broke down spectacularly. Latin democratic or silencions, previously opposed insisting contra aid, began democratic Nicaragua establish any treaty. dures as part of

Lobbyists then members that poll minded House majority of voters show the Central America and norant of that issue. Why debate ing on tion in Congress again next ques- ber, just before the elections, a Democrats' alternative bill wou have required?

All sides acknowledge that Reagan's House victory may be transitory. Additional aid, which no one denies will be requested, will hinge on whether the contras clean up their act and make military progress, and whether that in turn pushes Nicaragua toward democratic reforms. "Believe me, you will face this issue again and again as long as you're in the House," Minority Leader Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., told party colleagues the morning of the vote. "You'd better understand that and join now, because this isn't going to go away."

World Court Rules U.S. Has Broken International Law

By Loren Jenkins

THE HAGUE — The International Court of Justice has ruled that the United States has violated international law on seven counts by its operations in support of the rebels, or contras, fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Although the World Court's decisions are not binding or enforceable, the court further ruled that the United States "is under an obligation to make reparations" to Nicaragua for damages caused by U.S. activities.

In a judgment on charges brought by the Nicaraguan government more than two years ago, the World Court ruled that U.S. activities against Nicaragua constituted illegal intervention. The court found the U.S. government at fault for "training, arming, equipping, financing and supplying the contra forces"; the 1984 mining of three Nicaraguan harbors; a series of armed attacks on these harbors and adjacent oil storage facilities in 1983 and 1984; and the staging of intelligence overflights in Nicaraguan airspace.

The court finding on the illegality of U.S. support for the contras came only 36 hours after the House of Representatives approved a long-sought bid by President Reagan to provide the contras with $100 million in aid, $70 million of it military. In the past, Congress had limited U.S. assistance to humanitarian aid because of doubts about supporting a rebel army against a government with whom Washington still has diplomatic relations.

In addition to reparations, the court stated that the United States should "immediately cease and refrain" from all acts that violate international law.

After Court President Nagendra Singh of India read the judgment, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto said: "This is a day that shall never be forgotten, a day that shall be proudly remembered by all peace-loving people in the world." In Managua, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega called the decision "a moral and political victory for the Nicaraguan people" and said that "from this moment on, the U.S. government becomes a criminal, acting outside of the law".

There was no official U.S. representative in the courtroom, and the table prepared for the American legal team remained empty throughout the proceedings. The United States, which argued that the court had no jurisdiction over the Nicaraguan political charges, decided in early 1985 to boycott its proceedings. The Reagan administration announced last October that it would not abide by the court's decisions.

The court rejected U.S. arguments that there was substantial proof of Nicaraguan arms smuggling to El Salvador to indicate that Nicaragua had a major role in El Salvador's guerrilla war. The court strongly criticized the U.S. government for the mining of the harbors of Corinto, Puerto Sandino and El Bluff early in 1984. "After examining the facts, the court finds it established that, on a date in late 1983 or early 1984, the president of the United States authorized a United States government agency to lay mines in Nicaraguan ports," Justice Singh read. "That in early 1984 mines were laid in or close to the ports of El Bluff, Corinto and Puerto Sandino either in Nicaraguan internal waters or in its territorial sea or both, by persons in the pay and acting on the instructions of that agency, under the supervision and with the logistic support of United States agents."

According to Washington sources, the "agency" referred to by the World Court was the Central Intelligence Agency, which has been charged by Washington with organizing and supporting the contras.

The court, however, refused to accept the Nicaraguan contention that "the U.S.-supported contras are controlled by Washington and that their acts can be attributed to

Continued on page 16

Administration Dismisses Decision

By Jonathan Karp

THE REAGAN administration dismissed the World Court's ruling that the United States violated international law by supporting rebels fighting the Nicaraguan government. "Today's opinion demonstrates what we have stated all along: the court is simply not equipped to deal with a case of this nature involving complex facts and intelligence information," State Department spokesman Charles Redman said on the basis of a preliminary review of the ruling.

"Nicaragua is engaged in a substantial, unprovoked and unlawful use of force against its neighbors," Redman told reporters. "The United States has assisted the victims' response to Nicaragua's intervention."

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said President Reagan "wouldn't have any comment" on the ruling now, and officials said the State Department would handle the U.S. response.

On the possibility that the court would order the United States to pay damages to Managua, Redman said, "The court's decisions are not self-enforcing. It doesn't have the power to order anything." Any effort to enforce the ruling would have to go through the United Nations Security Council, where the United States has veto power.

Senator Charles McC. Mathias, R-Md., a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was quoted as saying, "I view the decision with concern and some sadness. The United States has historically supported the world court, even helping to create it." He advised Reagan to "read the opinion."

International law experts were divided over whether the ruling cast the United States or the court in the worst light. "The United States loses ground even if the judges were completely wacko," John Lawrence Hargrove, executive director of the American Society of International Law, told United Press International.

At the Nicaraguan embassy, Ambassador Carlos Tunnermann Bernheim hailed the decision and said it would undermine the administration's efforts to support the rebels, which was reinvigorated when the House passed Reagan's $100 million contra aid package. The ambassador was joined by two American lawyers who, as part of Nicaragua's legal team, announced Nicaragua would ask for more than $1 billion in damages.

Although the World Court has no power to enforce its decisions, the lawyers, Harvard Law Professor Abram Chayes and Washington attorney Paul Reichler, said the decision will validate Nicaragua's claim for monetary compensation for deaths and injuries, property destroyed, and damage to the economy.

U.S. Ends Security Guarantees to N. Zealand

By Don Oberdorfer

MANILA — The United States is withdrawing its security umbrella from New Zealand because of its refusal to accept port calls by nuclear-armed U.S. warships, Secretary of State George P. Shultz said last week. "We part as friends but we part company as far as the alliance is concerned," said Shultz to New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange after a 40-minute meeting that tried but failed to resolve deepening differences over the meaning of the 1951 ANZUS treaty.

The action was prompted by impending parliamentary action in New Zealand to put into law its ban on nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered ships. Lange, whose New Zealand Labor Party has taken an unyielding anti-nuclear position since coming to power in July 1984, predicted the U.S. action would have a "short and spectacular" effect at home.

New Zealanders will ask whether they are now subject to Soviet attack without anyone coming to their defense, Lange said. He suggested the answer is that nothing much has changed, saying that ANZUS was "the ultimate cop-out treaty" because it only called for consultations in case of military threat and did not guarantee protection.

U.S. officials said no immediate changes in fleet operations are expected because the U.S. Navy will no longer be protecting New Zealand; no Soviet threat is in sight. "The people of New Zealand are not afraid," without U.S. defense, declared Lange. "They don't see a nuclear weapons defense of New Zealand as a security assurance — they don't see being defended by nuclear weapons as any sort of assurance."

The refusal of New Zealand to accept U.S. nuclear warships, which rarely call at its ports anyway, has been taken seriously rather than as a petty irritation primarily because the Reagan administration fears that the anti-nuclear policy could spread unless firmly rebuffed.

In February 1985, following New Zealand's firm refusal to accept a proposed naval port call unless Washington indicated whether the ship was carrying nuclear weapons, nearly all joint exercises, intelligence sharing and other military cooperation was halted by Washington. The United States has long refused to confirm or deny whether its ships carry nuclear weapons.

Shultz, at a press conference to conclude two days of meetings with Southeast Asian and Pacific community states, said New Zealand's nuclear ship ban had withdrawn an "essential element" of its participation in the ANZUS treaty alliance. "In the light of this, the United States considers that the treaty, at least as it has been understood, doesn't apply in the sense of the responsibility of the United States to extend its security responsibility to New Zealand," Shultz said.

The Washingto~ost

Next In N~aragua

BY TRAVELLING a very small ~acy distance. He needed only a few ~, distance on Nicaragua, President Reagan has traveled a very ~or military aid to the Nicaraguan additional votes in the ~ them. With this result he moves from a resistance. Unfortunately ~e to a situation with a whole new and condition of sinking st~ins and losses: from a wasting or at best a riskier range of poss~ttack.

holding operation t~an had drawn a line in the dust and had been Politically, Mr. ~emocratic-controlled House toward it. Now he has moving a reluc~across the line: 51 Democrats supported his position pulled the H~onate counsel of their leadership. For the president the against the a political feat, which he celebrates as a triumph of arms vot~, For the Democrats the vote is a party-fracturing event biparti~lications will hover over its search for a post-Vietnam identity who~quest for a 1988 presidential nominee.

an~oreign policy terms, the United States is now in a strange position. ~ newly committed to a war against a government with which it is not ~rmally at war and with which it observes diplomatic relations. It is doing so, moreover, not only with congressional consent but in the noonday sun. No longer is there the slightest bow, as there was when the United States funded the contras early in the first Reagan term, to the discretion once associated with CIA operations.

It may be argued that American support of the contras will be the more potent and constant for having been suspended and then renewed in an intense multiyear debate. But there is a problem here: the president and Congress, the Republicans and the 51 Democrats, are agreed on arms aid but not on its purpose. For Mr. Reagan the purpose presumably follows from his pledge to enable the contras "not just to fight and die for freedom but to fight and win freedom." Others who support contra aid, however, do so without expectation of victory but simply to raise the Kremlin's costs of empire, and still others do so to build a position of strength from which to negotiate more effectively.

The excitement of the turnabout may conceal these fissures for a time. But they are likely to emerge later, especially if things do not go well in the field. Mr. Reagan may then have to face the familiar and fateful dilemma of whether to raise the ante, this time perhaps with a direct commitment of American forces, or to cut his losses. Optimists see the Sandinistas buckling. Realists should start thinking about the choices that the president, plainly, has not been thinking about.

Another Israeli Scandal

ISRAEL has another intelligence scandal, following the Pollard espionage case. It seems that the Israeli FBI, called the Shin Bet, killed two Palestinian prisoners, who'd been arrested in a bus hijacking, and then covered it up. The attorney general, who was pressing an investigation, was ousted and his successor then circumvented by a political deal in which the two main parties agreed not to poke further into the Shin Bet's deeds. The president preemptively pardoned the head of the security service and three deputies even before they had been investigated, charged or convicted.

Israel's pride is to live in a condition of war and yet to preserve a democratic, humanistic essence. The Shin Bet scandal savages this claim. It is not hard to understand how a country continually prey to terrorism can be seized by an impulse to strike back. But Israelis insist that they keep that impulse under the restraint of a dedication to the rule of law. This is why, for many Israelis, the cover-up is worse than the killings. The killings are one of those things that can happen in a terrible moment. The cover-up is something that requires connivance by the system, a system that is supposed to deal responsibly with surrenders to terrible moments.

There is a political complication. The Shin Bet scandal occurred, as did the Pollard spying, while Yitzhak Shamir was prime minister. He is currently vice prime minister and, in accordance with an agreement of long standing, is due to take over the No. 1 spot from Shimon Peres in October. The Israeli press suggests that Mr. Shamir, as prime minister, approved the cover-up. Mr. Peres has joined the circle protecting Shin Bet and heading off further inquiry into it. But he is under his Labor Party's fierce pressure to permit an inquiry at least into the part of the affair touching the "political echelon." The "political echelon" is something of a euphemism for Yitzhak Shamir, and the question in Israel now is whether the affair will develop in a way that threatens Mr. Shamir's scheduled "rotation" into office in the fall.

The dark side of this episode is apparent. It is noteworthy, however, that the murders and cover-up have prompted a wave of revulsion in the Israeli public. Many people are deeply troubled by the spectacle of a politically sanctioned police atrocity. Some see it as a source of embarrassment and pollution to which their society is indefinitely consigned by the enmity of most of its neighbors. Others see it as a condition for which Israel itelf has some responsibility by virtue of its failure to do everything it could to make a West Bank peace and thereby to end Israel's state of siege. The political conclusions that Israelis draw from this latest intelligence breach could yet become the most important thing about it.

The Sandinista Argument

BEFORE Congress voted military aid to the Nicaraguan armed resistance last week we conducted an interview by cable with the vice president of Nicaragua's Sandinista government, Sergio Ramirez.

You have stated "categorically that Nicaragua's revolution stops at Nicaragua's frontiers. We do not seek to export it and we never shall." Yet Interior Minister Thomas Borge said on July 19, 1981, "This revolution goes beyond the borders." Which Nicaraguan voices should we believe?

There is no basis for you to suggest that Nicaragua has sought to export its revolution. Moreover, the public record shows that the U.S. administration has deliberately misrepresented, for its own political purposes, the statement you attribute to Minister Borge. Let me repeat, categorically, that Nicaragua's revolution stops at Nicaragua's frontiers.

Even congressional opponents of aid to the contras agree that Nicaragua sustains the insurgency in El Salvador with arms, training and other forms of support and that the Salvadoran insurgency, perhaps like the Nicaraguan insurgency, would tend to fade away if there were no outside support. Must we still pretend this is not so?

It is important to remember that the guerrilla war in El Salvador began before there was a revolution in Nicaragua. In fact, as late as 1978 it was widely believed that the Salvadorans would overthrow the Romero Government long before the FSLN would topple Somoza. They have a solid social and political base in El Salvador itself. This is the reason why they have survived for so many years. I should like to add that the U.S. administration has not presented a single piece of convincing evidence to support the charge that Nicaragua is giving material aid to the Salvadorian guerrillas, this in spite of the fact that Nicaragua challenged the U.S. to appear before the World Court to make such a case.

Would you cut off support for the Salvadoran guerrillas if the United States cut off support for Nicaraguan guerrillas? If in your view President Duarte should talk with the Salvadoran opposition, why should you not talk with the Nicaraguan opposition? Or should there be a double standard?

The Salvadoran guerrillas control close to a third of the national territory, and, as I said earlier, they have a strong social and political base. The contras on the other hand are a mercenary army without social or political backing in Nicaragua. They operate from bases outside the country and are pursuing foreign policy objectives of the U.S. administration.

In 1981, the CIA selected Enrique Bermudez, a colonel in Somoza's National Guard, as the chief military commander of its mercenary contra army. Edgar Chamorro, a former contra leader, testified that Adolfo Calero, political leader of the contras, was also handpicked by the CIA. The government of Nicaragua will never negotiate with such mercenaries. However, we are prepared to negotiate with the U.S. administration.

In the Statement of Guatemala of January 14, signed by your foreign minister, approval was given to the Contadora principle of self-determination calling for "establishing at the internal level the system of government that its population as a whole freely decides upon." What changes in your internal structure do you plan in order to make good on this promise?

Nicaragua held elections in November 1984. Seven political parties covering a wide spectrum of political ideologies participated. Sixty-four percent of the Nicaraguans who went to the polls elected Daniel Ortega president and myself vice president. They also elected 63 Sandinista candidates to seats in the 96-member National Assembly. The remaining 33 seats are occupied by representatives of opposition parties.

Observers from all over the world reported that the elections were open, honest and fair. Our commitment to political pluralism, a mixed economy, respect for human rights, regional autonomy

Interview with Sergio Ramirez

for the people of our Atlantic Coast and nonalignment in foreign affairs will be elevated to constitutional principles in the new constitution, which is presently the subject of popular debate and discussion throughout the country. The new constitution will go into effect in January 1987.

On January 30 the six political parties of the internal Nicaraguan opposition proposed a cease-fire, political amnesty, restoration of civil rights and the negotiation of an all-party agreement for new general elections. Why is this proposal, which seems manifestly fair to many people, not satisfactory to you?

This might seem manifestly fair to the contras and their foreign supporters. It would not be fair to the Nicaraguan people who went to the polls in November 1984 and elected the present government. If the attacks against Nicaragua are suspended, our military forces would have no one to shoot at — a de facto cease-fire would be in place. The contras could then lay down their arms and return to Nicargua under the terms of the general amnesty that the government has offered to all of them, including their top political and military leaders. They can join existing political parties, or organize their own.

The question of civil liberties is of much importance to us. If the administration stops the unjust and illegal war it is waging against our people, then there would be no need for a state of national emergency in Nicaragua. You will recall that there was no such emergency from 1979 to March 1982. It was in March of that year that CIA agents blew up three bridges in the northern part of the country. Our response was the state of national emergency, which includes restriction of some civil liberties. When the U.S. stops the war, the state of national emergency will be lifted and all restictions on civil liberties removed.

On March 9 Arturo Cruz, a leader of the political opposition, expressed understanding for your refusal to negotiate with the armed opposition, and said it would be acceptable if you opened talks with the internal political parties. Again, why is this proposal, which seems manifestly fair to many people, not satisfactory to you?

We are in a constant dialogue with the internal political parties. They participate in the debates in the National Assembly and are deeply involved in the drafting of the new constitution. What we will never accept is direct or indirect negotiations with the U.S. mercenary contra army. Mr. Cruz, who personally admitted having accepted CIA money, is basically proposing a fig-leaf for negotiations with the contras, of which he is also a member.

What can you say to answer the Reagan administration charge that the Sandinistas will make no compromises of any kind unless they are under serious military pressure?

We welcome and support negotiations because of our commitment to peace. Nicaragua has participated actively in the Contadora process since it began in 1983 and, in 1984, announced its willingness to sign the peace agreement. It is the U.S. administration, not Nicaragua, that boasted of its success in blocking the signature of the September 1984 peace agreement, suspended the Manzanillo bilateral talks between the two countries and walked out of the World Court. You will recall that the spokesman for the foreign ministers of the Contadora countries, after meeting with Secretary Shultz in Washington, said that the greatest obstacle to their effort was the extreme and intransigent position of the U.S. administration.

Nicaragua, for its part, is making every effort to negotiate an accord that is acceptable to all sides. On May 15, President Ortega announced a comprehensive proposal to set limitations on acquisition of offensive weapons, prohibit international military exercises, regulate national maneuvers carried out by the armed forces of any Central American country, remove all foreign military advisers and prohibit foreign military bases in the region.

We believe that our initiative added greater impetus to Contadora and was pivotal to the positive developments observed at the June 6 meeting of foreign ministers in Panama. The communique issued at the conclusion of the meeting states that progress toward an agreement demands firm acceptance of the following fundamental commitments: 1) None of the Central American countries will allow its territory to be used to attack another country or to give logistical or military support to irregular or subversive groups; 2) no Central American country would join political or military alliances that threaten directly or indirectly the peace of the region by inserting it into the East-West conflict; and 3) the major powers suspend logistical or military support to irregular or subversive groups using force as an instrument to overthrow a government in the area. . . .

Allow me to conclude by saying that an agreement among Central American countries can be effective only if the U.S. decides to set aside its aggressive interventionist policy toward Nicaragua. Unfortunately, the administration's intensifying campaign for more aid to the contras shows there is no change in U.S. policy. Obviously this does not bode well for peace, because approval of any funds to the contras would be a major new blow to Contado~a precisely at a moment when careful handling of a delicate set of circumstances, including the June 7 revised Contadora peace accord being studied by the Central American governments, has generated expectation that an agreement is close.

World Court Rules Against U.S.

Continued from page 15

the United States. "The court is not satisfied that all the operations launched by the contra force, at every state of the conflict, reflected strategy and tactics solely devised by the United States," the court ruled. "The court, however, finds it clear that a number of operations were decided and planned, if not actually by United States advisers, then at least in close collaboration with them and on the basis of the intelligence and logistic support which the United States was able to offer."

In addition, the court said, "There is no clear evidence that the United States actually exercised such a degree of control as to justify treating the contras as acting on its behalf. The court finds it clearly established that the United States intended, by its support of the contras, to coerce Nicaragua in respect of matters in which each state is permitted to decide freely and that the intention of the contras themselves was to overthrow the present government of Nicaragua."

Of the 16 issues voted on by the 15-man court, nine key issues were passed with a 12 to 3 vote — with Judges Stephen M. Schwebel of the United States, Shigeru Oda of Japan and Sir Robert Jennings of Britain dissenting. Four issues were decided with 14 to 1 votes, with either Justices Oda or Schwebel dissenting. One procedural question received an 11 to 4 vote, and the court concluded with a unanimous vote that "recalls to both parties their obligation to seek a solution to their dispute by peaceful means in accordance with international law."

Land Of The Rising Sun May Be ~st Its Zenith

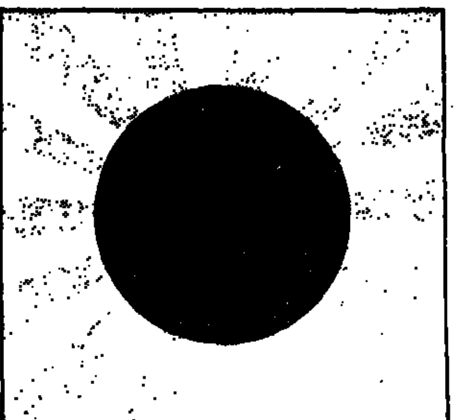
By Joel Kotkin and Yoriko Kishimoto

TODAY Japan stands uncontested as the superstar of the world economy. Its factories are the world's most efficient. Its corporations provide the models for a generation of managers from around the world. And, increasingly, Japan's bankers reign as the new lords of international finance.

Yet many Japanese believe the land of the rising sun has risen as far as it can. They fear that unless there are radical changes in the fundamental objectives and strategies pursued by the nation's industrial and government leaders, Japan may begin a long descent.

"No country can enjoy prosperity forever," notes Hiroshi Katoh, a former official with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and now a leading Japanese venture capitalist. "The whole system is breaking down. We just can't go out and get the growth we used to. The feeling is that Japan is in the beginnings of a decline."

This view is not merely a reaction to the appreciation of the yen — which, unlike the oil crisis of the 1970s, was a *shokku* (shock) caused by forces that Japan could have



influenced. Instead, today's problem is a natural and inevitable result of its selected and heretofore successful political, social and corporate systems. Japan's beggar-thy-neighbor trade policies have earned it mega-dollars, but at the price of undercutting the economic growth and wearing out the patience of its prime customers.

"The key problem is that we don't want to destroy the basis of our past glory," notes Jiro Tokuyama, a prominent Japanese economist and dean of the Nomura School of Advanced Management. "We just can't keep selling products to the rest of the world so successfully. We have to start experiencing the sort of things — like off-shore production — that our competititors also face. We have to change ourselves dramatically.

"The idea of Japan as Number One is ludicrous. We don't have the human assets, resources or political strength to be more than, at best, a good Number Two behind the United States."

Among executives and intellectuals from Paris to Peking, the Japanese have replaced the Germans and even the "ugly" Americans in being viewed as selfish "economic animals." The United States is not the only trading partner gearing up to, as one Japanese economist put it, "punish us for our success." France and Italy have erected massive barriers to Japanese cars and consumer electronics.

But most important is the resentment spreading in Japan's backyard: East Asia. Even such strong exporters as Hong Kong are finding it impossible to make headway in the Japanese market.

Last year, for example, Japan sold Hong Kong 12 times as much as it bought. Hong Kong's garments are renowned for quality, but they have barely penetrated Japan. Hong Kong, for that matter, is the world's largest producer of toys. Yet, "You can't get anywhere with them. They won't even buy our toys," notes T. W. Wong, deputy director general of the Federation of Hong Kong Industries, one of the most pro-free-trade groups in Asia. "Their toy companies can be dying — living on subsidies — but they won't let us in."

Given such resistance, South Korea and Taiwan, themselves facing tough protectionist legislation from the United States and Europe, are considering curbs on Tokyo's economic penetration. Even Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, once markedly pro-Japanese, has announced that Asians are no longer willing to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for Japan.

Perhaps nowhere is this anti-Japanese resentment more pronounced than in China. Although China is the most promising market for Japan after the United States, Tokyo's traders have deeply alienated its billion potential customers. With control of 26 percent of China's foreign trade, the Japanese characteristically created a $9 billion trade surplus in the first nine months of 1985. This drain on China's foreign reserves led to its recent massive cutbacks in imports.

But the larger problem, Chinese officials claim, is that, unlike American or European firms, Japanese companies are reluctant to share technology.

"The goal seems to be to keep us backward and buying," notes Zeng Xiao Ming, manager/engineer at Peking's Chang Feng Industry Corp. "There isn't a lot of thought about mutual benefit."

No longer willing to be a receptacle for ever greater shipments of Japanese goods, China and other Asian nations are planning to go on the offensive against Tokyo. Even before the yen *shokku*, this competition caused major bankruptcies or restructuring among flagship Japanese industries, including steel, shipbuilding and electronic components. Particularly vulnerable are scores of Japanese firms that produce such low-tech exports as cutlery and dinnerware. They must justify yen-driven 30 percent price rises against hard-charging Koreans, Taiwanese and others working in currencies that are pegged to the dollar.

As a result of competition and protectionist backlashes, growth rises in Japan have fallen to 5 percent or less annually — comparable to the United States — from double-digit rates. Corporate operating profits have fallen as much as 25 percent since the salad days of the early 1970s. Last year, for instance, exports boosted total sales of Japan's top corporation by 2.7 percent but profits dropped by nearly 5 percent. Now, with the recent jump in the value of the yen, profits of Japan's 400 largest companies, according to a survey by the respected newspaper Nihon Keizai Shimbun, are expected to drop an additional 30 percent.

This reveals some profound weaknesses in the much-praised Japanese industrial system. In the past, Japanese firms, unlike their American and European counterparts, have been reluctant to buy components from, or place plants in, countries where they sell their products. Large Japanese firms still average only 4 percent of their total production overseas, compared to 15 to 20 percent for their American and European rivals.

Yet Japanese firms are being forced, for both political and economic reasons, to follow the off-shore patterns of their competitors. And as they do, job growth will slow. Most drastically affected will be non-giant companies, which constitute 99 percent of all Japanese companies and employ 85 percent of all private-sector employees. Many supply components to fill the export orders of the major companies. They face far more difficulties than do the major companies moving their factories to Ohio or Singapore.

Japan's technology-oriented "venture businesses" are also in trouble. It was hoped they would provide the innovation necessary to overcome the inevitable *shokkus*. Yet highly regarded technology start-ups such as Nihon Electric and Japan Soft and Hard Corp. failed last year and another, Sellac and Sord, was sold to Toshiba.

"Most of the companies we invested in in the high-tech field are near bankruptcy," notes venture capitalist Hiroshi Katoh. "Like most Japanese firms, they were built 30 to 40 percent on exports and can't stand the yen changes."

What really disturbs thoughtful Japanese today is not so much the pressure from overseas, but the effect that their system's rigidities are having on the essential *Yamato Damashii* — "Japanese spirit." This "Japanese spirit" is a powerful concept. It is the Japanese belief that, with the correct spirit, Japan can prevail against all odds. This was what was supposed to win World War II for Japan against its larger opponents' manufacturing capacities. This is why the question of the waning of *Yamato Damashii* is so potent to Japanese. It adds political impact to the decline many Japanese note in their nation's originality in the arts and literature. Some fear that this malaise soon will seep into the economic sphere, particularly among the young.

"It's frightening to watch young people work these days," said a 40-year-old middle-manager at Hitachi's massive factory in Kanagawa. "There is no initiative, no ambition, no hope. People are at work but seeming only to show up. I fear we can no longer depend on the Japanese spirit. And without the Japanese spirit, where will be be?"

Actually, the pressures of demographics

"The Japanese executive's career, in Hobbes's phrase, seems 'nasty, brutish and short'."

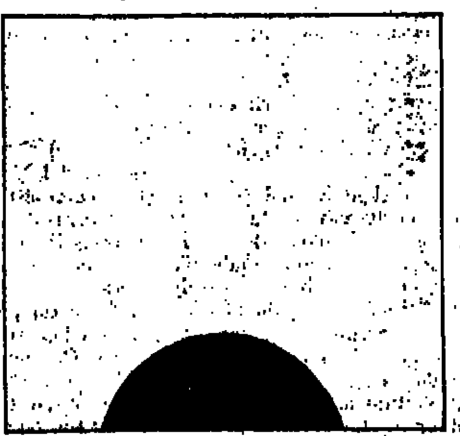
and slow growth are coming together to harm three generations, each differently. For the oldest, the road to success in Japan is increasingly so clogged as to be impassable.

Japan is the world's most rapidly aging society; there are too many *sarariman* (salaried employees) between the ages of 40 and 50 bucking for too few promotions. In comparison to an American executive — who easily can switch jobs, start his own company or continue ascending the corporate ladder as late as age 60 — the Japanese executive's career, in Hobbes's phrase, seems "nasty, brutish and short." With retirement set at age 55 and early promotions slowed by the grinding of the seniority system, the Japanese executive has, at best, only 15 years to gain power and position.

"The 45-year-old executive tends to feel very threatened," notes Makiyo Mizobuchi, executive director of Recruit, a Japanese employment agency. "They are the ones without experience with such new things as office automation, internationalization and information processing, yet they must compete with younger people who do. They know that time is running out. And by the age of 40, they know it's all over. They are stuck on a trail of suffering."

In perhaps the most pathetic cases, older workers simply are put out to pasture, given functionless jobs until they are forced out at retirement age. These *madogiwazoku*, or window-side managers, said to number well over 2 million in 1980, can be seen in many Japanese corporate offices, reading newspapers at their empty desks, stoically whiling away the hours.

And, although it's rarely discussed openly with foreigners, a growing number of older executives just lose themselves in drink.



Nor are things much more promising for Japan's baby-boom generation. Constituting roughly 30 percent of Japan's 120 million people, a large proportion of these baby boomers trained for and expected high-level jobs. Between 1960 and 1970, for example, the number of college students in Japan grew by more than 50 percent. But educational attainments, once considered a sure ticket to success, no longer guarantee ~dy promotion. ~" issued by Japa~ ~to the "2000 ~achment Research Institute ~ ~cted Social ~manag~ of all colleg~ gr~ ~in 1983 ~ ~tes had 17 per~ rank of *bucho* ~ the age of 54. By ~visional rank. ~ only This is one~ ~ people will achi~ that ~nese trading c~ ~ge that the great ~ — are finding ~ ~tes — the *zaibat*~ than producing ~ difficult to solv~ been a growing exod~ ~eady, there has executives and engineer~ ~ung Japanese — often to Japanese subs~ competition can corporations. ~ of Ameri-

Take the case of engineer Hi~ 15-year veteran of Tokyo-based ~ ~toh. A one of Japan's largest electroni~ ~nki. Gotoh fell into a conflict with superio~ ~ms. the need to develop new software ~ marketing plans for the rapidly expandin~ custom-chip market. Accustomed to such large-scale commodity businesses as standard memory chips, Oki's corporate bureaucracy could not adjust to the sophisticated technological and marketing challenges of the fast-moving and more highly customer-specific arena.

So the blunt 38-year-old Gotoh quit, and signed on with the Japanese affiliate of Silicon Valley chipmaker LSI Logic.

"They'll have to kill off everyone over 50 and make all the guys in their 40s *kacho*, (section chiefs) *bucho*, even vice-presidents," says Gotoh of his old employer. "I just fear it may be too late for them to change."

Perhaps most disturbing for the long run is the system's effect on its young. Many top Japanese managers worry about the new generation of college graduates — widely known as *shirake sedai*, "the reactionless generation." They are accused of lacking both the loyalty ethos of the over-40 generation and the creative drive of the baby boomers.

This passivity has its origins in the perceived near-impossibility of advancement in today's Japan. In 1970, 47 percent of Japanese between 20 and 24 believed life would get better, according to a government survey. Ten years later, only 33 percent felt that way. Over the same period, the percentage believing things would get worse jumped from 3 to 13 percent.

Japanese concern about their country's ability to adjust to the future can already be seen in the decision of firms from Sanyo to Mitsubishi to pull up stakes and locate new facilities in America and East Asia, while American firms from IBM to Compaq to Zenith have bolstered the U.S.-based manufacturing power.

Indeed, while Japanese overseas investment has soared, domestic investment in plant and equipment in 1986 is expected to grow a paltry 1 percent and decline markedly in electronics and chemicals. By contrast, Korea's investment is expected to increase by 42.5 percent. This comes at a time that, by some measurements, Japan's industrial plant is now older than that of the United States. One government report even predicted that off-shore production could cost Japan 560,000 jobs by the turn of the century.

Thus, to Japanese, the future looks more modest than that projected for them by their U.S. admirers. West Germany is a good model, believes Hiroshi Takeuchi of the Long-Term Credit Bank. It is a leading industrial power whose wealth is based on precision products such as luxury cars and machine tools. But no one expects it to dominate the world's technology or challenge the United States for industrial supremacy.

But perhaps more relevant is Great Britain, which in the first half of this century lived off its vast overseas holdings. Japan in the immediate future can also profit handsomely from its investment abroad — projected to be $400 billion by 1990. But if its economy is increasingly dominated by financial services, that could subvert the very basis of Japan's industrial success.

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...oom in ...e desert

...cempting
JOYCE'S ...sses ...-adaptation
The ...theatre is albeit a
written down ... form than
cinematic mode. Hans Zen...
straight play ...tor and co...
the German ...ed nighttown it
er, has ... of the Circe ...ank-
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into h...' Stephen Cl...
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Joyce — is ...urse Bloom, Ste-
message. ...est of the cast-list of
phen, an ...ccasional Brit types
Irish ...or exploitation. But their
look ... vitality is a byproduct
...lus than the presiding purpose
...oyce's extravagantly allusive
...d gloriously vulgar text.

It's hard to see how some themes, such as the linguistic parody of American and English and Irish English, for whose tone Joyce had an immaculate genius, could transpose into German: and sure enough, the Elijah interruption is nothing compared with the original. Ladislaus Konya's delivery is not "harsh as a corncrake's" and there's no sign of "the banner of old glory," the stars and stripes, on the platform carrying him down from the flies.

Instead, Alfred Kirchner's production presents a silver lame-clad gospeller, with trumpetting putti at each corner. The period of Kirchner and his designer Randi Bubat's Bloomsday is not 1904, but the inevitable, overdone Twenties. For Kirchner, Stephen Climax is a case of Mr Bloom Changes Trains.

But to accuse Zender of failing to match Joyce, either in substance, or in extravagance of musical means, is beside the point. For Zender is not trying to squeeze Bloom and Stephen into opera, any more than Joyce was merely updating Homer with added kinks (a sort of Homersexuality).

Zender's Stephen Climax is actually two operas in one. Like the rich patron in Strauss's Ariadne auf Naxos, Zender presents two operas simultaneously. With the Joycean material we are shown Simon Stylites on top of his column in the Syrian desert. (Ian Caley, singing Simeon, deserves a medal from the Holy Father and a plenary indulgence for standing on his tiny platform high above the stage for 2½ hours from before the performance, when the audience are let into the auditorium, to after its end).

The link between the stories is mother-love, that strong Papist theme. The Simon Stylites story concerns his refusal to allow his mother into his presence, because it's against his ascetic vow: she dies, enraged, but is resurrected and blessed. Stephen Daedalus of course is supposed (according to Buck Mulligan) to have killed his mother by his refusal to kneel down and pray for her — a scene that Zender inserts into his nighttown, though Joyce actually presents Stephen's mother praying for him, not the other way round, and Stephen denies her with a Wagnerian gesture of the ashplant, and the Siegfriedian cry, "Nothung!"

I thought Stephen's (and Joyce's) mother was the Church, and that the purpose of it all is the conversion of art into religion, which is clearly the twentieth-century phenomenon. But Zender's opera ends with Bloom's recognition of Rudy ("reading from right to left inaudibly, smiling, kissing the page") followed by the call from the Syrian desert, "Jesus, lamb of God, have mercy on us."

What is really disappointing about Zender's opera, with its evocation of opposite extremes, the ascetic and the indulgent, is the moderation, the mildness, the tastefulness (somewhat outdated) of its means. Both the music, in a purified, very approachable idiom, and the Kirchner stage production are sadly devoid of the extravagant gesture. Zender's score is largely slow-moving, the text delivered (not very audibly) in lapidary manner and at even, rhetorical pace. Peter Hirsch conducted neatly, with caution — as if walking on eggs.

When I say the two different subjects are put on stage at the same time, I mean literally. Gianni Colombo's set is two thirds nighttown and one third the Syrian desert, or more usually the nighttown brothel. Just as well, since the long brothel scene seems to go on forever.

In musical terms, the characterisation is not full-blooded. But Franz Mayer sings well alongside Ian Caley as Antonios, leader of the monks. Lyndon Terracini as Stephen makes as much use of his frank Australian charm as the role allows. Barry Mora as Lynch and Joshua Hecht as Bloom, Sandra Walker as Bella, and Nancy Shade as Cissy Caffrey (doubling with Zoe), all register Zender's rather economical view of their roles quite impressively.

By Tom Sutcliffe in Frankfurt

Putting the finger on love

By Waldemar Januszczak

GIVEN the enthusiasm which greeted the release of Derek Jarman's cinematic tall-story based, so loosely, on the life of Caravaggio, it is a fine piece of coincidence that the National Gallery should now have purchased one of the last works by him to remain in private hands, the supremely puzzling Boy Bitten by a Lizard.

Painted in the middle of the 1590s, this is one of those half-lengths of provocative youths in vaguely classical guise with which Caravaggio made his early reputation. I have long been convinced that the entire series should be viewed as a set of allegorical self-portraits, of which this is the most unusual.

A rose tucked behind his ear, girlishly curly-haired, his tunic slipping off his shoulder, the boy in the picture is grimacing madly, his amazing look of horror surely being based on a face pulled by the artist in a mirror. The reason for the grimace still hangs from the boy's middle finger, a lizard which has bitten him as he was feeling around among the cherries painted so convincingly on the table in front of him.

Not to make too fine a point of it, the picture seems to have been intended as a fierce warning about the dangers of earthly love. Why else would the lizard — a kind of reptilian vagina dentata — have been made to bite that particular finger?

Nothing in those early Caravaggio allegories was included accidentally. Picking cherries had the same slang meaning in Caravaggio's time as it does now. The jasmine in the brilliantly observed glass vase in front of the boy traditionally symbolised carnal love, and was the attribute of the prostitute in the female portrait by Caravaggio that was destroyed in the bombing of Berlin during the war.

What Caravaggio has done here so dramatically is to give a real psychological edge to this impish moralising. The expression on the boy's face, the tense lighting, and above all the intense realism with which all the details have been observed take the allegory out of the realm of the iconography book and thrust it firmly into real life, making the lesson so much harder for his Baroque audiences to ignore.

For a comparison we need look no further than the painting of Lucas Cranach of Venus and Cupid also in the gallery. The message is the same: Poor Cupid is being stung by bees for putting his hand into a honey pot. Venus looks on blankly. But because it is all taking place so far away, in the world of the Gods, the message has none of the immediacy of Caravaggio's treatment.

• *Caravaggio's Boy Bitten by a Lizard, on show in Room 29 at the National Gallery.*



Caravaggio's Boy Bitten by a Lizard

The falsity of foppery

Nicholas de Jongh at Chichester

Scene: *A salubrious chocolate house in Drury Lane. Mr Gush, a theatrical scribbler for the broadsheets, extravagantly attired in the fashions of the moment sits amidst his beaux and cronies. Enter, Spleen, a Critic of the drama, morose.*

Spleen: Ah, my dear Gush, all *aquiver to drench the prints with* extravagances for Mr Vanbrugh's little comedy, I hazard.

Gush: Alas, sir, to tell the truth, I languish. I lack my habitual first night ecstasies, I fear I find young Mr Matthew Francis's revival abominable sombre and pantomimic. It leaves me as downcast as the sickliest trout in Highgate Ponds.

Spleen: Heavens, has it come to this. Do I discover you, Mr Gush, not even a simpering over the ladies' frocks, not fired by the gaudiness of Lord Foppington's rainbow raiments or even his love spot?

Gush: P'sa. You rail, Mr Spleen. *But by all that's sacred, this* relapse has as much truth as a Judge's mistress. Truly the very first glimpse of the stage's quaint constructions shot me full of doubts and vapours. All hardware and brutal.

Spleen: By Sir Peter you're bulleye this morning, dear Gush. 'Tis so. Miss Di Seymour's designing artifice were vile misplacements. Tell me, sir, what meant her mobile scaffoldings, *such broken pillars,* such wheelaround steps, and egad, a thorough going bareness upon the boards? A play upon Mr Vanbrugh's architectural edificies? I found myself hard pressed to tell *the town from the country proportions.*

Gush: 'Tis so. Spleen, give me the bygone glitter that suits the period. I'm all for gaiety. Yet I fancy Mr Francis was set upon one of your dry, modern academe notions, a gallimaufry of metaphor-all bareboning society's gentlemen with their torrents of naughty love to dispose of, their hankering after fortune and the silly vanities, the buying of high station.

Spleen: Is it possible that one such as you should scorn the glamour of cheap costumes — I fancy Miss Kate Buffery's Amanda was gowned as the 1920s epitome and Mr Richard Briers's Lord Foppington in his hairnet and *striped like sweetshop candies* surely wafted you heavenwards. And as for young Mr Fashion's servant, black trousered as one of yesterday's young punks — or Mr Ronnie Stevens, dressed up as a sodomitical clown.

Gush: Sir, I cannot take these minglings of periods. They are mere cosmetics to decorate the body comic and mask the lack of thought.

Spleen: Fripperies, mere fripperies. I own that I love gravity myself, but Mr Francis has turned the foibles of Mr Vanbrugh's people gross. They want reality or satire's shafts and such romancing beyond the beds of marriage *should strike the audience bright.*

Gush: I think, Mr Gush, you forget Miss Paola Dionisotti's gorgeous Berinthia. What snake-like arts. What wily, double headed charms!

Spleen: Indeed she shines, while *Miss Buffery's Amanda is girded* in such grave gloominess. Yet I hear my dear Gush, the play's main business is too much the pantomime. I term Mr Briers's Foppington as little Lord Ludicrous. So much work to such little effect. Such a roll call of senile quaverings, such bowings, such scrapings not one flicker, by Sinden, of the Lord's true self-adoring vanities, not a glimpse of the ardent panter after title and high society.

Gush: As distant from life as the chocolate house from the Pox hospital, Mr Spleen. And a pox too upon Mr John Session's Fortune who has taken the same road to excess — not so much a rake with his grand wig, methinks, as a broad spade, a ranting boy without vitals. Come, dear Spleen, let's write and put our hearts in it.

Soviet Rambo just as depressing

By Martin Walker in Moscow

AT THE video salon on the Arbat pedestrian precinct in central Moscow, the latest hot property is Russia's own Rambo movie. Under the title "Lonely Journey" you get the Soviet Union's own version of the SAS, the Spetznatz naval commandos, wiping out hordes of wicked Americans and saving the world in the process.

A *film classic it is not, but the* locations are tropically wonderful, the camera work fine, the girls look terrific in bikinis and the special effects are well up to Hollywood standards. The jugulars really spout blood as the throwing knives sink in, and the last few moments of the flight of the anti-ship missile and the subsequent explosion are lavishly done.

The plot is fairly simple, as these things go. The CIA is planning to blow up a luxury cruise liner and blame it on the Russians. Behind the CIA is a group of golf-loving fat cats who represent the military-industrial complex. They want a new a superpower crisis that will be good for profits.

In a magnificently louche tropical night club we meet Hessel, the maddest man in the CIA, whose drinking bouts are interspersed with flashbacks to atrocities in Vietnam.

Armed with all the latest technology, Hessel arranges the missile strike on the cruise ship. But something goes wrong. The missile hits instead a private sailing yacht, being sailed happily round *the world by a slightly hippy* young American couple. They are blown into the water, but quickly set themselves on a desert island with all the usual accoutrements of castaways, luxury tents, short-wave radios, Kalishnikov rifles — that sort of thing.

The frustrated Hessel does not want any surviving witnesses to his schemes, and while the CIA officially disavows him, Hessel sets up an assassination team against the American castaways, who fly in on hang-gliders to ambush the tent.

But meantime, the good guys have woken up. On the sunny deck of a Soviet naval ship, a group of marine Spetznatz are going *through their friendly unarmed* combat practice, and talking of old folks at home and the fun of hunting mushrooms in the forests.

The ship's captain has monitored the flight of the missile, learned of the CIA's plan, and assigns the nostalgic Spetznatz boys to frustrate it. Just as any American hit-team of this type contains the token negro and token Spanish American, this one contains the token central Asian and a young lad from Siberia who is too young to die.

The mayhem begins. The Americans in their tent are just getting amorous when the hang-glider assassins cut their way through the canvas, kill the girl, and are killed in turn by her vengeful husband. He starts to hunt down the CIA killers, the Russians arrive to help, and the young American joins the good guys.

This is important. The fact that *the Russian commandos cheerfully* welcome this lethal hippy into their ranks is what makes this movie ideologically correct, proving that Moscow is not against the American people, but only against the bad guys.

Back in his submarine command post, Hessel thinks this is the right time to start world war three. But, having wiped out the CIA assassins, the Russians and our hippy hero go after Hessel. They grenade and shoot and punch their way into the control room just as Hessel's crazed finger is poised over the button.

And, inevitably, the Spetznatz leader dies at the moment of triumph, shot in the back by the *cowardly villain.*

What makes "Lonely Journey" stand out from the usual Soviet thriller movie is the lavishness of its budget, spent on the foreign locations and the expensive sets — all doomed to be blown up. But the Soviet movie-goer — and the average Soviet citizen goes to the cinema 14 times a year — gets the same kind of regular diet of these "patriotic" films that we do.

There was "Flight 222" set in an Aeroflot jet at New York airport where the Americans try in vain to persuade a loyal Soviet woman to stay in the West with her defected husband.

There was the hit TV series "Tass is authorised to state . . ." about the attempts by the CIA to destabilise a small African country, and the heroic efforts of the KGB to keep the place safe for peace and socialism.

There is something international about these stereotyped images we keep churning out about each other. Something depressing about the way that our Rambo and their Spetznatz depend upon the same hardware of machine pistol and *grenade. Patriotic violence is as* American as apple pie, as Russian as borscht, or as British as the Falkland Islands.

But there was one interesting thing about the video of "Lonely Journey" that we hired overnight from the Arbat Salon for a rouble. The video tape itself was made in Japan.

Brilliant Tosca from Miller

By Tom Sutcliffe In Florence

SCARPIA, with a clipped moustache and in a neat, double-breasted dark grey suit, striped tie and horizontal tiepin is talking quietly and unemotionally on the *telephone. His vast black desk is* furnished with angle-poised lamps, and piles of papers, through which he works assiduously. He is leaning back comfortably on his chair beside the desk, smiling privately.

Behind him there's an operational map of Rome and its suburbs attended by grey suited henchmen and a young soldier in uniform. Beside the map is a filing cabinet, periodically consulted. Between Scarpia and the door on the right, beyond which Cavaradossi is being worked over by Scarpia's torturers, Tosca is being torn apart by her dilemma, whether to betray Angelotti or let her Mario suffer.

This is the key image — individuals caught in the totalitarian machine — of Jonathan Miller's excellent new Tosca production which opened last week in Florence. Despite, or perhaps because of, advance controversy about the updating to the last weeks of Italian fascism and about Miller's supposed anti-clericalism which was attacked by some Christian Democrat politicians, the Maggio Musicale's Tosca has become the hit of the 1986 Festival.

It was predictable that the audience would like the star casting: Eve Marton in the title role, Guiseppe Jaicomini as the painter, Silvano Carroli as Scarpia. And Zubin Mehta, conducting, is a favourite here. But it was not predictable that in barely a week of rehearsals Miller would secure such commitment from his stars, and coherence from the Italian company and chorus.

This Tosca, which has been built and trucked out to Florence by the ENO under a profitable deal, and joins the Coliseum repertoire next January, in no way disturbs the built-in characteristics and received view of Tosca herself and *Cavaradossi. Their little tragedy* remains a naive, commonplace affair, elevated only by the stature of their musical and vocal performances. But what makes this Tosca, I think, Miller's finest opera staging so far is the way he has emphasised the black side of the work, and turned Scarpia into a powerful symbol of true bureaucratic horror.

The detail of the staging is astonishingly good for such a rush *job. Romano Emili's Spoleta, with* his black mourning armband, spectacles and ill-fitting grey suit, shows a repulsive amount of sweaty relish for brutality. The soldiers who do Scarpia's bidding are studiedly neutral and laidback. Franco De Grandis's fine Angelotti staggers into the opening scene credibly exhausted, barely able to stand.

One has the powerful impression, in Stephenos Lazaridis's superb single set, of a world in upheaval. The floor is at a crazy angle, so that one feels almost giddy as one searches for the true horizontal and the walls of the set with their classical recesses and pilasters and pedimented frames seem shaken from their foundations — all below the stark, sharply angled lighting rig of a cinema studio. To move on this set is a struggle — and a telling one. There will be time enough at the Coliseum for Miller to decide *whether his solutions to the* crucial moments are really apt. But the irony of Cavaradossi's execution — that bitter moment of great theatre — is brilliantly achieved. He sits astride a chair backwards facing the audience, smiling at Tosca, who is watching the scene from a structure on the right of the proscenium. The squad shoots him in the back, and his head falls forward over the back of the chair. He laughs.

Miller has seldom worked with such a star line-up. All of them sing gloriously but they are a bit too pushed around by Mehta's conducting. Mehta is a terrific Puccini conductor, and presents *the structure of the score perfectly,* not afraid to make significant breaks from section to section in place of the more usual busy drive, and adept at the fluent rubato that the style requires. But Marton's Vissi d'Arte seemed constrained by his direction.

Most impressively, under the circumstances, Miller obtained thrillingly acted interpretations from his stars. Carroli as Scarpia had a touch of James Mason about him, dabbing his sweat with a handkerchief, crawling to Tosca across the stage on his knees, grabbing her round the legs, toying with the neckline of her dress, his face revealing every change of fortune, and especially the threat from Marengo, marvellously. Giacomini had a wonderfully relaxed manner as Mario in suede shoes, and brown cord jacket.

Above all, Marton, star of the show, seemed totally involved in the role, weeping real tears, as fascinating as Callas if much more vulnerable. Looking like Ingrid Bergman with a different costume for each act, she communicated genuine terror and affection in a *way I would never have expected.*

The...

By Ralph Whitlock

MY COTONEASTERS are ... bloom. It is a season to wh... look forward because for a few weeks I have such good company while I sit at my window, writing. The tiny, insignificant, rose-pink flowers, whose four petals never seem to open properly, are evidently so replete with nectar that no bees within a mile or so can resist them.

So they gather, the bees, in a cheerful, busy congregation, singing various pitches of bass and tenor as they work from dawn to dusk. The nearest bush is only a yard from my chair, and sometimes I find myself humming in unison with them.

But I should be writing in the past tense. That is the scene as it has been ever since I have lived in this house — until this year. Now we have no bees, not the true *honey or hive bees. We have* bumble-bees, and through watching them through the years I have learned to identify most of them. There are the buff-tailed bumble-bee, the small earth bumble-bee, the rarer red-tailed bumble-bee, the carder-bee and several others who have only official, zoological names. They seem to be present in normal numbers, but where are the hive-bees?

The local bee-keepers can supply the answer, and that is about all they are likely to be able to supply this summer. For they estimate that the bee mortality rate over the past winter has been at least 40 per cent, and some of them have lost their entire stocks.

As with most natural disasters, the reasons are complex. The chilly, wet weather that characterized *last summer was initially* responsible, for the bees began the winter weakened and with inadequate reserves of honey. They were in poor condition to cope with the Arctic winds and bitter temperatures that prevailed all through February. Any chance the stocks may have stood of recovering was destroyed by the cold, tardy spring, which resulted in almost all spring flowers appearing at least three weeks later than usual.

Under this heap of adverse circumstances the British Bee-keepers' Association wrote to both the Ministry of Agriculture and the EEC to enquire about the *possibilities of doing* a little quarrying in the EEC sugar mountain. They did so, in fact, in the depth of winter, while there was still hope for some of the harassed stocks. The surplus sugar, piled up in warehouses, had reached such proportions that the EEC has been spending something over £500 million a year in subsidising its sale, cheap, to countries outside the Common Market.

May we please have some of the sugar, to help keep our bees alive, at the same subsidised price? the Association asked. They worked out that they needed a minimum of £1,325,000, or around £44 each for Britain's 30,000 beekeepers. This *seemed a modest and reasonable* reques... Not so, the ... Ministry of Agriculture. ... Government ..., explained its ...kesman, to ... farmers ... the vicissi... ly for the weather. ... unfortunate... weeks ... argument, ... that it was ... Ministry an... a few £16 million ... making availab... ...nced had suffered ... help farmers ... summer of 19... result of the ... were not included ... but bee-keepers ... that handout.

One of my infor... this is a bee-keeper ... about all consists of about 300 ... whose stock spends something over ... hives. He year on sugar, as food for the bees in winter. When last I spoke to him he was paying £404 a tonne for granulated sugar, delivered.

But the world price for sugar was at that moment about £194 a tonne, and it had earlier this year *been down to £140 a tonne.* Of the £404 cost to him, about £60 represented brokerage and transport. That leaves a balance of £150 between the world price and the price he was paying. And that, he says, is accounted for by an EEC levy, which he regards as unvoted tax.

British bee-keepers never have an easy course. Our climate was not designed for bees. Old-time bee-keepers used to reckon on having a good honey harvest in, on average, about one year in five. But now, of course, they cannot raise their prices for honey in the bad years because they are always competing with cheap imports from countries with much more reliable honey flows.

Much of the honey on supermarket shelves is blended honey, from more than one country. My informant tells me that China, with which the EEC is eager to encourage trade, is now a major source of honey supply. A small tariff imposed on imported honey is, he says, negligible. Bee-keepers, he *insists, don't ask for subsidies or* protection, but they do want to buy their raw materials at true world prices. Which seems fair enough.

The trouble is, of course, that bee-keepers and honey production comprise such a minor industry that politicians think they can ignore them. Even in the farming world their voice is not very powerful. In the Middle Ages bees were valued as much for their wax (for making wax candles for religious purposes) as for their honey. In more recent times commercial bee-keepers have derived a goodish slice of their income from moving their hives around to fruit farms and farmers with fields of white clover, for pollination purposes. No bees mean no fruit and no clover seed.

It seems to have escaped attention that we now have a relatively new crop of rapidly increasing importance which relies on bees. It is oilseed rape, which now paints vast rectangular blocks of the countryside golden yellow in May and early June. No bees, no rape seed. When that realization sinks in, bee-keepers will have *gained some powerful allies.*

...raids ...Bora...eshen

By Ed...

END PAPERS, by Breyten Breytenbach (Faber, £12). Literature ROOT AND BRANCH: Southern African anthology, edited by A. Findlay (Macmillan, £5.95).

ON one side ...the author; on the other side, the author. Hands ...ch other's right arm. ...able, the author's head. Undeviously closed. It's his own creation for the jacket of a book in which the poet, painter and novelist who says he's no longer an Afrikaner — technically, anyway, he's a naturalised Frenchman — takes the most enormous care to quarrel with himself about every thought that occurs to him.

Most of these thoughts are about South Africa, which he calls the largest concentration camp ever known to mankind, and in the main this is a collection of pieces and papers written for conferences and journals between 1967 and last year.

He is restless about them, a poet uneasy about being polemical: he gives them titles that might be those of poems (Languages as the Random Thoughts of Camels, Keep Clear of the Mad). He says they are repetitive, as they are. He points out that "if you *forgot* the high-flying phrases, which hide the real issues . . . we are down to kitchen gossip". He wonders if that can interest outsiders. ("It ought to, you know. Apartheid is an export product.")

He looks at the possibility that he has set himself up as a minor prophet, or that what drives him is that he "can't stand not being Black". He detects the noise of the wheels of a "Breytenbach bandwagon". Few writers were ever more intent on challenging any reader tempted to admire him.

Perhaps a reviewer should be no less discontented. But I finished the book feeling tremendous gratitude. End Papers does two things: it cries out, with various kinds of eloquence, against the infamy of what is happening in South Africa, and it keeps the protestor hoping — whether it be the author, whose protest has included nine years in prison, or the reader, who may be sitting comfortably "where Soweto deaths are merely news items".

In fact, deeply and urgently instructive as to South Africa, the book is also a pointer to the way in which any of us might manage such dangerous charges of moral and political indignation as we carry about with us. Asking himself what the exile and protestor might do, he says: keep up the noise level, keep an uncivil tongue in the head, project the *feel* of thinking (his own special gift) — the severed head on the jacket seems stunned with thought), and refuse to knuckle down to oversimplification.

The political analysis is hard and informed: the chilling core of it, his belief that the strategy of the South African Government "is a military one — apparently incoherent and sensitive to pressure — but in fact with clear goals and a timetable".

Fiercely funny (especially about journalists and "the nothingness-makers"), taking in its stride some rawly brilliant travel notes, End Papers offers half a dozen wonderfully stirring phrases. Among them one defining the business of the exile: "He must bark all along the borders." But perhaps the most important point he makes is specifically a poet's, made again and again: that the worst agony remains "a contribution to human experience".

Breytenbach quotes a conclusion of a Unesco meeting in the 70s: that colonialism "deprived humanity for centuries of the Third World's contribution to universal culture". The literary loss can be measured by evidence of the literary gain offered by Root and Branch, drawing from the ten countries of Southern Africa. Read the poetry of Mazisi Kunene or Mongane Serote, and mourn for what is not being written.

Botham for boys

By Vic Marks

HIGH, WIDE AND HANDSOME, The story of a very special year, by Frank Keating (Collins Willow, £10.95).

THE GUARDIAN has developed a sound tradition of employing writers sympathetic to the cricketers' lot. John Arlott, as President of the Cricketers' Association, has often demonstrated his concern and compassion at our union as well as in print. And last winter Matthew Engel was less hysterical than most during the Caribbean campaign (though I must voice a reservation here since he once defined the English winter as a time "when, somewhere in the sun-blessed old empire, someone is hitting Vic Marks for six"). Having read *High, Wide and Handsome*, a recollection of Ian Botham's six-hitting jamboree of 1985, I can now add Frank Keating's name to the list. But it emerges from the book that I'm not the only one who approves of Guardian correspondents, for we learn the startling fact that there are some cricket writers whom Ian admires greatly and his list "always starts with John Arlott."

This is the more surprising since I've rarely spotted Ian marching into the dressing room with a Guardian tucked under his arm. He usually prefers to see what he's written in the Sun. However, I'm certain that the jottings of Messrs Engel, Selvey and Keating would find him nodding agreement rather more vigorously than those on the editorial pages.

Frank Keating travelled with Ian on the traumatic West Indies tour of 1980-1 and witnessed his attempts as captain to overcome the devastation caused by Ken Barrington's death, the Jackman affair, not to mention Marshall, Holding, Garner, and Roberts. There he saw Ian stretched to his limits; sometimes they occupied neighbouring bar stools into the early hours to try to make sense of it all.

Keating recognises that sportsmen are men not machines: they are sensitive, vulnerable, and flawed: that's probably why he likes them. Not that he is anxious to concentrate on Botham's flaws. Plenty of other journalists have done that, though he does acknowledge that he can appear "boorish, aggravating, aggressive, mulishly stubborn, and very short-fused. . . . Many friends have charged him thus. By the same token they have never once hesitated to marvel at his loyalty, generosity, courage, or sportsmanship." All true. Ian has never claimed to be an angel, but his sheer zest for life demands affection.

Ian Botham — 'awesome power of his hitting'

One of his attractions is that he obviously needs company and friendship whether it be Australian Test captain Alan Border, Elton John or down-to-earth county keeper Trevor Gard — "It wouldn't be the same if Trevor wasn't next to me, cup of tea steaming, his trusty old pipe billowing smoke as he churns over the phrasing of his latest and usually useless words of wisdom."

One of the difficulties of writing a book about Botham is that it's so quickly out of date, but never mind: there will be three more by the end of the year. No such problem with the likes of Dennis Amiss: you just add another 1,800 runs to his career aggregate while the printers are at work.

However, Botham's life moves more swiftly. For instance Tim Hudson (an unlikely charmer, way out and not in, a "one-off larkey hedonist" and "a family friend as well as an agent and manager") has disappeared from the scene, and instead of hurtling in at Gavaskar these days, Ian is probably bowling at his eight-year-old Liam — a world of difference even if these two adversaries are the same height.

Also Ian's assessment of the Ashes winning side — "This lot make up the best English side I've ever played with" — no longer tallies with current Fleet Street opinion. I'm not even sure if PBH is that confident.

Nonetheless *High, Wide and Handsome* has a lasting worth as a celebration of Botham, the Boys' Own hero on the cricket field. It's about time someone concentrated on that aspect of his life. The book is liberally sprinkled with assessments from fellow cricketers from Richard Hadlee to last year's schoolboy debutant Jonathan Atkinson. All are fulsome in their praise of the man and the awsome power of his hitting.

In between, Frank Keating has lovingly and entertainingly filled in the details to produce a record "for any great grandchild to digest." He places Botham as the cricketing colossus of his age, just as Grace and Bradman were in theirs and few of us can argue with that.

In the 21st century when we're grumpily bemoaning England's middle order we'll be able to take refuge in Keating's tribute and the humiliation of the Australians. However, I confess that the Somerset sections of the book left me rather confused, for as Ian strides out at Taunton in 1985 to smash another century against Marshall or Lever I keep expecting Somerset to win, but we never do.

Elusive GKC

By P. J. Kavanagh

G. K. CHESTERTON: A biography, by Michael Ffinch (Weidenfeld, £16).

MANY biographers fall into one of two camps. They begin by loving their subject and grow increasingly exasperated as the Life (and their labour) goes on or, beginning with affection, they fall deeper and deeper in love.

In his *G. K. Chesterton*, Michael Ffinch certainly belongs to the latter group, and with a subject of such universally affirmed geniality and goodness it must be difficult to do otherwise. Chesterton still awaits the salty, though respectful, chronicler who can make him come alive. Not that Mr Ffinch pulls punches: he deals with his subject's anti-semitism at length, and produces some unpleasant quotations.

His method is workmanlike. He takes Chesterton's life step by step, and as that life consisted mostly of writing he describes each book as it comes and quotes generously. This is useful because it could help a reader to learn which of Chesterton's works he might like to read.

But Mr Ffinch does one odd thing. He ends a whole section — the placing could not be more dramatic — with a description of the non-success of Chesterton's marriage-night, drawn from a source that all recent biographers regard as questionable and one (Dudley Barker) thinks demonstrably false.

Mrs Cecil Chesterton, in 1941, described how "the woman he worshipped shrank from his touch and screamed when he embraced her." Lurid stuff; Mrs Cecil did not care much for Mrs G. K. She goes on to suggest that her brother-in-law's marriage was always like that, which is unlikely because, years later, when no longed-for children came, Frances Chesterton underwent an unsuccessful operation hoping to make this possible.

Whatever their private difficulties, Frances, blamed by many for dragging her husband from Fleet Street to decorous Beaconsfield, should be praised for giving him an opportunity to retire inside his mind. There is a tale, new to me, of his absent-mindedness. He splashed so much in his bath that the housemaid always hovered, to mop up after him. One morning she heard him get out of the bath and then a huge splash as he re-entered it. "Dammit," she heard him say, "I've been here before."

That is the story of a man composing in his head the sentences he is about to go downstairs and write. That is the only way he could have written so much and so quickly.

Escape artist

By Norman Shrapnel

THE BEST OF 'DEAR BILL,' by Richard Ingrams and John Wells (Deutsch/Private Eye, £7.95).

NUMBER TEN is never safe from liquid invasion. Once a canal ran through it; now it's a wet fairway to the 19th Hole, with any number of minor escape-channels contrived by the Prime Minister's consort to reach his numerous watering-places.

Such, at least, is the scenario presented by Ingrams and Wells in The Best of 'Dear Bill', in which the collected Denis Thatcher letters gurgle from their source in Private Eye like a burn diligently seeking its distillery.

Does the thing work in concentrate form? I expected the reiteration of a single joke to grow as wearisome as a saloon-bar monologue, but the necessary mesmerism surprisingly takes hold.

The Thatcher story acquires the heroic stamp of an escape saga. He is in a prison camp — has been for years, just how many years comes as a shock to the reader, arousing a touch of Hess-like sympathy. Chained to Superwoman he is a kind of Super-victim, with more experience than any of us of the "long years under the Iron Heel".

The last major chance of escape was in 1983, but the Conservative election triumph was disaster for poor Denis, duly sentenced to an extra five years. For this he can't forgive Michael Foot and must now, with determined hopefulness, pin his trust on Kinnock or Steel. The detail, as the long-term prisoner makes repeated efforts to break out of his personal Colditz, is often hilarious. Not through the bars but to the bars is the best he can achieve. Well, it's something.

The idiom, astonishingly well integrated for a fork-tongued exercise such as this, is brilliantly concocted from what seems to be a mixed jargon of army, clubhouse and the more backward sort of public school, together with such corrective therapy as may be provided by "six of the best from the Boss".

It has appropriated a dialect, suggesting Wodehouse without the innocence. Unbraked by inhibition it is a style that can lurch from the funny to the nasty in mid-sentence. Three-letter words abound, wops and wogs and nips and yobs. Few will be complaining. Clown's licence, or a touch of the new and virulent British disease, ingrowing snobbery? Anyway, who's talking?

Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1913

Em. Lasker v. Nimzowitsch, St. Petersburg 1914. Lasker, world champion for 27 years, was renowned for his competitive defence in difficult positions. Here as White (to play) he was a pawn down with his rook threatened. Should he continue with (a) 1 R-R7 (b) 1 B-K7 or (c) a different move?

Solution No. 1912

White K at QN6, R at KB4, B at K4, Black K at Q2, Ps at K7 and K6. Can White win?

1 B-B5 ch! K-Q1 2 R-Q4 ch K-K2 3 R-K4 ch K-Q1! 4 B-Q7! (not 4 RxP? P=Q 5 RxQ stalemate) P=Q (KxB 5 RxP) 5 B-N5 and 6 R-K8 mate. Not 1 B-B6 ch? K-Q3! 2 R-Q4 ch K-K4 3 R-K4 ch K-Q3 4 RxP P=Q 5 RxQ stalemate.

ANATOLY KARPOV'S claims as the greatest chess tournament player of this or any generation were boosted once more last month by his clear-cut victory at the category 16(2627) Bugojno double-round event in Yugoslavia. Karpov scored 8½/14 followed by Ljubojevic and Sokolov 7½, Portisch and Spassky 7, Miles and Yusupov 6½, Timman 5½. The ex-world champion lost early on to Sokolov but later won four games. Tony Miles, well placed at half-way, faded.

Both Karpov and Kasparov are thus demonstrably in peak form for this month's world title match which starts at the Park Lane Hotel, London, on July 28, with play each Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Front row (£20) and middle row (£10) seats are bookable in advance from American Express, 19/20 Berners Street, London W1 (01-637 8600), who also offer package tours for overseas visitors. Rear seats at £3 will be available only on the day of play at the venue.

The Bugojno organisers set out to create the strongest tournament ever and judged on FIDE ratings alone may well have done so. But ratings aren't everything: the legendary Dutch AVRO tournament of 1938, also an eight-man double-rounder, averaged about 2605. Yet there were only 16 decisive games in Yugoslavia as against 24 in Holland: Portisch, Sokolov and the lazy Spassky managed between them 38/42 draws. With its imbalance of Russians and East Europeans, Bugojno petered out in the second half (75 per cent draws) once Karpov had a clear lead. AVRO is still remembered for its personalities and its incidents: Fine's start of 5½/6, Botvinnik's brilliancy against Capablanca, Alekhine's walkout on Capa's 50th birthday party, Reshevsky's time scrambles, victory for the modest young Keres. It seems unlikely that chess historians will assess Bugojno 1986, for all its FIDE points, as matching the status of that charismatic Dutch event.

Anatoly Karpov (USSR) — Boris Spassky (France)
Ruy Lopez (Bugojno 1986)

1 P-K4 P-K4 2 N-KB3 N-QB3 3 B-N5 P-KN3

Smyslov made this move respectable at grandmaster level, and Spassky has adopted it occasionally too. Here, however, it quickly transposes into the more orthodox Steinitz Defence Deferred.

4 P-B3 P-QR3 5 B-R4 P-Q3 6 P-Q4 B-Q2 7 O-O B-N2 8 R-K1 KN-K2 9 B-K3 O-O 10 QN-Q2 Q-K1

Book is P-R3 and K-R2, strengthening the defences. Spassky does this anyway a few moves later, and his NxQP threat is easily stopped.

11 B-N3 P-N3 12 PxP PxP 13 N-B4 K-R1 14 Q-B1 B-N5 15 N-N5 P-R3 16 P-KR3 B-Q2 17 N-B3 K-R2 18 P-QR4 P-B4

Faced with typically Karpovian insidious pressure, Black goes for active counterplay, but the tactics favour White. Perhaps best is to manoeuvre behind his fortress by Q-N1.

19 PxP PxP 20 N-KP! NxN 21 NxN BxN 22 BxRP B-Q3?

Here B-B3 looks better, stopping White's next mate threat which regains all the material.

23 Q-N5! Q-N3 24 RxN ch BxR 25 QxB ch KxB 26 QxB P-B5

White has two pawns for the exchange with the BK open, so conceding a third pawn is hopeless. He had to try QR-B1 27 R-K6 KR-Q1.

27 QxP QR-K1 28 R-Q1 R-B3 29 K-R2 P-R4 30 R-Q4 R(1)-KB1 31 R-Q7 R-QB3 32 Q-K5 Q-B3 33 Q-Q5 R-B4 34 Q-K4 Resigns

Both Q-B4 35 Q-K7 or R-B4 35 B-B2 put the BK in a mating net.

Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

AN interesting feature of the Denmark versus Israel match in the Philip Morris Europa Cup Final this year was that there were three consecutive boards near the start of the match on which 6D could be made. This was Board 2, dealt by East with North-South vulnerable.

NORTH
♠ A 9
♥ A Q 10 9
♦ A 10 6 2
♣ A 6 4

WEST
♠ J
♥ J 5 3
♦ J 7 3
♣ K J 9 8 7 2

EAST
♠ K 8 7 6 4
♥ 8 7 4 2
♦ 9 5 4
♣ 5

SOUTH
♠ Q 10 5 3 2
♥ K 6
♦ K Q 8
♣ Q 10 3

When Denmark held the North-South cards, the bidding was as follows:

East	South	West	North
NB	1S	3C(1)	Dble(2)
NB	3D(3)	NB	6D
NB	NB	NB	

(1) A weak jump overcall. Such bids always seem suicidal to me: for all West knows, he might lose 1,100 when the opponents have no slam.
(2) Negative, showing good values.
(3) South was rather stuck for a bid, for he did not fancy rebidding his feeble spade suit.

West led a trump against 6D, and declarer won in the closed hand and played a spade to the ace. When the jack appeared from West, South drew trumps ending in dummy and led the nine of spades. East could not afford to win this trick without making twelve tricks very easy to come by, so the nine of spades was allowed to hold. Declarer now turned his attention to the heart suit, and he was able to cash four tricks in the suit when the jack appeared in three rounds. This left the following position:

NORTH
♠ —
♥ —
♦ 10
♣ A 6 4

WEST
♠ —
♥ —
♦ —
♣ K J 9 8

EAST
♠ K 8 7
♥ —
♦ —
♣ 5

SOUTH
♠ Q
♥ —
♦ —
♣ Q 10 3

West's revealing bidding made it easy for South to read the end position correctly: he played a small club to the ten and jack, and West was forced to concede the contract by *returning a club from the king at trick 11.*

At the other table, the *Israeli North-South pair reached 6D played by North, and declarer went three down after an original club lead* by East.

On Board 3 of the match, the East-*West cards were as follows:*

WEST
♠ A K Q
♥ A K 3
♦ 10 9 8 7 6 2
♣ 5

EAST
♠ 2
♥ 8 4 2
♦ A 4 3
♣ A K J 9 7 5

Both East-West pairs in the match reached 6D, which made when the adverse trumps broke 2-2. As on the previous board, however, 6NT would have been a better contract, in that it gives the declarer two chances: he can duck a diamond before cashing the ace, intending to fall back on the club finesse if the diamonds fail to break.

Finally, this was Board 4, dealt by West at game all.

NORTH
♠ A K 5 4
♥ A Q J
♦ Q 7 6 3
♣ 6 2

WEST
♠ 9 7 3
♥ K 7 6 4
♦ J 9
♣ Q 10 8 5

EAST
♠ Q J 10 8 6 2
♥ 10 8 3
♦ A
♣ 9 4 3

SOUTH
♠ —
♥ 9 5 2
♦ K 10 8 5 4 2
♣ A K J 7

The bidding was the same at both tables in the match:

West	North	East	South
NB	1NT	2S	5D(1)
NB	NB	NB	

(1) In my view, South has no reason to make a pre-emptive bid after a strong no trump opening by his partner. He can afford to take things slowly, and I would recommend the following sequence to the excellent slam:

West	North	East	South
NB	1NT	2S	3S
NB	3NT	NB	4D
NB	4H	NB	5C
NB	6D	NB	NB
NB			

The sixth London Festival of Bridge will be held on August 22-24 at the Great Western Royal Hotel, Praed Street, London W2. Inquiries to the Congress Secretary, Ms M. van Beesten, 55E Ferme Park Road, London N8 9RY. Telephone: (home) 01-341 4456; (answering service): 01-341 4123.

A COUNTRY DIARY

THE LAKE DISTRICT: From the top of Place Fell, when sunshine and chasing cloud shadows sculpture the Helvellyn ridges, the western view can be quite outstanding — even for Lakeland. The fell is the only height I can recall from which you get a close picture of parallel valleys climbing to high mountains, the dales scooped into saucer-like hollows below circling ridges. All these side-valleys, from Dovedale to Gowbarrow, are seen across the curving reaches of Ullswater with the houses, farms and hotels of Patterdale and Glenridding looking like toys 2,000 feet below.

The other day, from the summit, you could watch cars going through the villages, the lake "steamer" pulling into the pier and white sails of yachts dotted across the water like drowsy butterflies. Tiny handkerchiefs of snow — the last of the long winter — still clung to the high east faces of Lower Man and Nethermost Pike.

By making a bee-line from the toe of Ullswater — barely half the distance of the usual Boardale Hause route but far steeper — the summit was reached, without stopping, in one hour. The four miles of beautiful shore-path from near Sandwick to Patterdale can also be covered, if necessary, in the the hour so that the complete round, including the traverse of the Place Fell skyline and the descent by the waterfalls of Scalehow Beck, can even be achieved by active septuagenarians within an afternoon or summer evening.

Sometimes, high up on Place Fell I have come upon herds of red deer crossing the ridge from their sanctuary in Martindale — but not on this evening. They say in Patterdale that when the deer appear over the shoulder of the fell bad weather is on the way.

A. Harry Griffin

BUNTHORNE

ACROSS

9. Graupel welcomes one: and about time! (9)
10. Weather metrical address from Gloriana (5)
11. Arrive with a companion; the first woman (7)
12. Judges' coiffeuse (7)
13. Nymphal backchat (4)
14. Provisional soldiers (10)
15. Form born after a month ago (7)
17. Draws out of banks in Paris (7)
19. Controller running, a temperature (10)
22. Archduke involved in histrionics (4)
23. Casual worker has time to paint (7)
24. Not thinking ahead (7)
26. Stick Bombay ducks? (5)
27. Challenger's aim Newfoundland? (4, 5)

DOWN

1, 8. Drunk? So how would the ale hit you, mate? Lord! Keep your counsel (3, 3, 3, 2, 4, 2, 4, 1, 6, 2)
2, 21, 5, 17 down. Georgie's plea, failing was: "Hi-hi! Water isn't held. Dam it all?" (4, 4, 5, 1; 4, 2, 4, 4)
3. Man? I'll say! (4)
4. Time to call 4, 12! (6)
5. See 2.
6. Like JFK, this citizen might be on both sides in about-turn (8)
7. Th-heep-dog thoundth like 26 (6)
8. See 1.
16. Man in the street might use gin without a stiffener (3, 5)
17. See 2.
18. Bloody nearly unique (4, 4)
20. Aversion of English born with German yen (6)
21. See 2
25. Springs to mind like Alice's place (4)

Jones the tennis

…RED years ago a daisy …d on the centre court. At …hat is the story. Wimbledon …ot making much of the centena…y. It is concentrating instead on its 100th championships. More than that, it is concentrating on putting on a show in keeping with its traditions.

The standard had been set from the start. After the second championship, in 1878, The Field commended the "large extent of really true turf, a false bound being quite a rarity". That is why a daisy caused such a stir — not that The Field confirms the tale; but it published a letter from Herbert Chipp, later the Lawn Tennis Association's first secretary, drawing attention to the condition of the centre court: "There was enough grass to furnish a goodly crop of hay, the clover heads showing distinctly . . ."

A legend, like the clover which momentarily threatened it, was already growing. Today Wimbledon is like Easter with its golden numbers, a fixed festival in the calendar. It starts six Mondays back from the first Monday in August; the dates of the championships may be worked out into the next century and for ever. In 1877 the players had only 30 days' notice.

The announcement was in The Field, the main sporting journal of the day. The editor, John Henry Walsh, was secretary of the All England Club; the cards correspondent, Henry Jones, was referee and the journal gave a challenge cup. Entrance was a guinea — now it is £40, though nothing for women — and 22 men entered. Women, still called ladies by Wimbledon, were not included until 1884.

Tennis was moving fast. It was first mentioned in The Field in 1874. Sir Gerald Fitzgerald reported seeing a new game calling itself sphairistike, or lawn tennis, rather as readers then and now might record the spotting of a black-tailed godwit in Cornwall. In three years the game went from tentative invention to careful formulation and a championship which has never been surpassed in the world. In the process croquet, for which the club had been founded in 1868, was biffed into the bushes.

It is salutary how quickly lawn tennis was licked into shape. Cricket and rugby have constantly tinkered with their rules and scoring. Tennis got them right almost from the start, guided by simplicity. Remarkably, for instance, the racket had no definition in the rules for a century. A player could use a sieve or a frying pan if he liked. Functional considerations were suficient until, in 1978, Michael Fishbach appeared with a racket incorporating a double pattern and depth of strings which sent the ball into conjuring tricks. The International Tennis Federation, surprised to find no mention of rackets when referring to their rules, introduced one to outlaw this bamboozling instrument and followed up by putting upper limits on the racket's dimensions.

Jones, effectively the game's first administrator, is largely responsible for its simple construction and order. The scoring is a masterpiece, perfectly shaped to produce a recurrence of critical points. If Walsh was the pioneer, Jones polished and perfected.

Jones's attention to detail was phenomenal. His analysis of the first championship showed odds of five to three on the server winning the game, "which is a great deal too much". He also timed matches. By the second year the scheduling had been amended, to accommodate players working in town in the morning, and to let everyone get back to town in time for dinner at eight.

An average game took a few seconds over two minutes. In the 1933 final Crawford beat Vines in little more than two hours for 56 games. That is half the time Connors took to beat McEnroe in 54 games in the 1982 final. A game takes almost five minutes now. No wonder the tie-break was needed.

As the game was feeling its way, nothing was too much trouble for Jones and nothing too trivial. Alongside debates on the major issues like service domination, the desirability of volleying and the height of the net, "his paper" catered also for the man on the vicarage lawn whose "balls lost their spring in winter". "Bake them for a few minutes in a quick oven," was the advice, "first whiting them over with leather breeches paste".

A rubber ball which bounced on grass was the breakthrough which made lawn tennis feasible, following the invention of the mower in 1830. Their covering and consistency of bounce exercised committee minds. Jones weighed and gauged the championship balls personally. Others had homelier problems, like marking them against misappropriation (every club had its filchers and its fuss-pots) and keeping them clean. For the latter, The Field recommended a stiff brush, whitewash and, when dry, a good shaking in a trouncing net. In the 1880s, an object like a coffee-mill was devised for buffing them clean in an alcoholic solution of soap, six at a time.

In its embryonic stages the game spawned a number of ingenious implements and ideas, some daft, but many taken up later. Little in the game today was not thought of in the first few years. Coloured balls, introduced by Wimbledon this year though not new of course, are older than the championships: a recipe for red balls was given in 1876: "take a 6d bottle of Judson's dye . . ." and so on. Wood served best for rackets until the last few years but steel is not new. It was mooted in 1882. Even when it caught on, there was a problem with vibration which had to be damped to reduce the incidence of tennis elbow.

Tennis elbow was itself identified in 1881. The first sufferer wrote that his panacea, rubbing with brandy, had failed. The editor, a doctor, advised a liniment made up of equal parts of liquid ammonia, laudanum, spirit of turpentine and soap liniment. Today the wages of tennis are handled on hire purchase — play now, pay later. This is the age of the painkiller.

• *The Field Story of Wimbledon by Jeremy Alexander is available at £2.50.*

By Jeremy Alexander

TENNIS: David Irvine at the 100th Wimbledon championships

Cash flows past shocked Wilander

FOUR weeks after having his appendix removed in St Stephen's Hospital, Fulham, Pat Cash continued his unique — and medically highly eccentric — recuperation of the Centre Court on Monday by beating Mats Wilander, officially recognised as the second-best player in the world, 4-6; 7-5, 6-4, 6-3. As Churchill, had he still been with us might well have observed: some invalid; some operation!

It was difficult to assess who was more astonished by the proceedings — Cash or Wilander. "I'm surprised," said the Australian with total frankness. "I didn't expect it."

Nor, it seemed, did Wilander. "Although at the start of the tournament I felt he was the only unseeded player who might win, I didn't believe he could play that well after an operation," Wilander said.

And "well" was precisely how Cash played. At times he was sensational, moving to the ball with great speed and confounding the second-favourite with his marvellous spontaneity. Elegant rallying, brilliant retrieving, skilful volleyilng — everything seemed to be done at breakneck pace.

It was the sort of match the Centre Court had been waiting for, and it remained tantalisingly open until the very end, with the fourth and final set producing five breaks of serve before Cash was able to hold with an ace on which to exit victorics.

The fourth round lived up to expectations in every way. Henri Leconte, the French left-hander, brought flashes of summer lightning to No 2 Court as he wrecked John Fitzgerald's hopes of a quarter-final clash with Cash in a match, which, though going to four sets, was always rather one-sided.

Later on the same court, "The Graveyard of Champions," the reigning champion Boris Becker put superstition firmly aside by dismissing the other surviving Swede, Mikael Pernfors, 6-3, 7-6, 6-2; satisfying revenge for his loss when the pair met recently in the French Open.

There were convincing wins too for the Czech, Miloslav Mecir, who reduced the dwindling American challenge still further with a blossoming 3-6, 7-6, 6-1, 6-2 victory over the No 12 seed, Brad Gilbert, and for the Queen's Club champion, Tim Mayotte, whose success in a fairly formal and unexciting match with Eddie Edwards was convincingly wrapped up 6-3, 6-4, 7-6.

It was Cash, inevitably, who made the crowd's day. The pandemonium out on No 2 Court where Becker thundered down 23 aces, never lived up to the sort of contest that had earlier delighted those watching on Centre Court.

Early on Wilander, who had started too slowly for his own good in previous matches, claimed a quick break and, serving confidently, took the first set in a way which suggested that there would be no repeat of 1984, when Cash defeated him at the same stage.

Cash, though, had very different ideas. He too began to open up, claiming the forecourt area and crowding the Swede with quick returns and angled volleys which had Wilander scrambling to retrieve, usually to find the court he had left was open.

"He covered the net so well," said Wilander. "The only way to pass him was to get him going the wrong way, and that wasn't easy. If he guessed right he made the point every time. My volleys, in contrast, seemed to let me down when I really needed them."

Despite letting a 3-0 lead slip in the second set, Cash grabbed Wilander's serve to love to win the set 7-5. The third and fourth sets followed much the same pattern, first swinging one way and then the other, but each time when the decisive moment came it was the Australian who was on the up.

Castle shows his mettle

ANNIVERSARIES tend to bring out the best in the British. In 1977, the year of the Wimbledon centenary, Virginia Wade won the women's singles and John Lloyd beat the fourth seed Roscoe Tanner, in the men's. On the fourth day of the 100th Championships, brought another example of homespun pride. Anne Hobbs defeated Zina Garrison, seeded ninth, and Andrew Castle gave Mats Wilander, the world No. 2, the fight of his life.

It was both heart-warming and heart-rending as the 22-year-old from Somerset, who had not been worthy of a Grand Prix appearance until two weeks ago, left No. 1 court to a standing ovation after pushing the Swede to 4-6, 7-6, 6-7, 6-4, 6-0 after a battle which lasted three hours and 44 minutes.

In Castle's own words "I had him on the ropes, but couldn't finish him." Wilander survived the second set only after coming within two points of losing it.

To many who chide Britons for the habit of taking greater pleasure from a brave defeat than a scraped victory, reaction to Castle's demise may have seemed strange. But set in the monochrome context of the British men's game — and particularly the string of failures at the biggest championships of them all — Castle's effort was a revelation.

The Taunton player entered the draw only by grace and favour. Yet he took one of the game's most successful players, twice Australian champion, to the limit.

Castle's press conference revealed that his feet, despite the heights to which he aspired, are still firmly planted on terra firma. "What I learned today is that I'm not physically strong enough to stay with the top guys. I played well at the start when he was struggling, but after winning the first set my legs were like lead. I was just too tired.

"Five sets of practice is a lot different to playing five sets on No. 1 court against a top-spinning Swede. It was very difficult."

As Castle's voyage took him into uncharted territory, his problems became ever clearer. Wilander, who had seen so many of his attempted passing shots cut out by his opponent's angled racket, gradually began to find the gaps. His serve, shaky early on, became increasingly telling. Castle never stopped fighting butto add to his difficulties he was suffering cramp and, at one point, appeared to hurt his back.

Nothing, though, could erase the memory of those first three enthralling sets. Anyone coming in with little knowledge of the personalities involved must have thought that Castle was the Swede, not Wilander. Normally, in such circumstances, the British are tentative and overawed. Castle gave a clear demonstration of positive thinking. He was brisk, businesslike and showed no fear.

Castle learned subsequently that his efforts had won him a place in Britain's four-man Davis Cup squad against Australia at Wimbledon later this month.

Connors falls

KEVIN CURREN, last year's beaten finalist, was the first men's seed to fall in the Wimbledon lawn tennis championships last week. He went down on the first day to West Germany's Eric Jelen, 6-4, 6-7, 2-6, 6-4, 12-10. On the next day Jimmy Connors, twice former champion, went out in the first round for the first time to the man he had beaten at Queen's a week previously, fellow American Robert Seguso.

Lloyd's calm progress

CHRIS LLOYD has only once failed to reach the semi-finals in 45 grand slam tournaments. That was on No. 1 Court at Wimbledon in 1983, when she lost in the third round to Kathy Jordan.

On Monday in the same setting and against the same opponent, her mind doubtless went back to that disaster three years ago. Jordan led her by 5-1 in the first set, and seemed about to disprove the theory that lightning never strikes twice.

It was exactly the context in which the greatness and consistency of Lloyd, 31 now but still as tough as ever, could be expected to blossom. And so it did. In a remarkable sequence she won the next 10 games to destroy the No. 16 seed's challenge and win 7-5, 6-2.

So once again Lloyd proved capable of rising to even the stiffest challenge. In 1983 she played against doctor's advice. This time had she lost, there could have been no such alibi. But she was cool, assured and confident; it was a marvellous recovery in the circumstances.

The women's fourth round provided an early upset when Bettina Bunge, who now plays out of Monaco, defeated the No. 8 seed, Manuela Maleeva, 3-6, 6-2, 6-3. Though it may have confounded the computer, those who remember Bunge as a semi-finalist in 1982 were less surprised. Her game is tailored to grass, whereas the young Bulgarian, reared on clay, is still feeling her way on the faster surface.

Gabriela Sabatini, still only 16, became the first Argentinian to reach the last eight since 1964. Despite an odd second-set lapse, she recovered to outlast the Italian Rafaella Reggi 6-4, 1-6, 6-3. There were much more comfortable victories for Lori McNeil (by 7-5, 6-1 over Betsy Nagelsen) and Sukova (by 6-3, 6-0 over Robin White).

McNeil, who in two previous Wimbledon visits had failed to win a match, is perhaps the odd one out among the surviving eight. Like the other black competitor, Zina Garrison, she learned her tennis in Houston through a parks scheme. Originally, however, she came from San Diego where her father played American football for the Chargers — a fact one would never guess looking at his short, slim daughter.

Sabatini's next opponent will be the Swede, Caterina Lindqvist, who fought doggedly to overcome Dianne Belestrat, the last Australian, 7-6, 7-5, while the No. 1 seed, Martina Navratilova, coped easily with the surprisingly heavy serve of the 20-year-old French girl, Isabelle Demongeot, to win 6-3, 6-3.

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SOCCER — WORLD CUP FINALS IN MEXICO: Argentina 3, West Germany 2, by David Lacey

Argentina on top of the world again

ARGENTINA won the World Cup for the second time in three tournaments on Sunday by proving that there is more to their team than Diego Maradona. They defeated West Germany 3-2 in the Aztec Stadium in Mexico City in front of 114,000 people in a final which saved its main dramas for the last 16 minutes and then left the capacity crowd limp with excitement. It was a climax the 1986 World Cup deserved.

To West Germany must go the credit for transforming a predictable and at times prosaic game into a memorable match. They were two goals down before the hour and seemed destined to pass into footballing history as the most uninspired of losing finalists.

In this sort of situation, however, something always seems to stir in the soul of the most leaden-footed West German footballer. They had proved as much, to England's cost, in Mexico 16 years earlier.

Or perhaps it is that more than most teams they remember all too well that of a football match lasts at least 90 minutes. Whatever the truth of the matter, two corners from Brehme were sufficient to produce goals which brought the scores level in the space of nine minutes, and just for a moment it seemed that the World Cup was going to be taken back to Europe from a Latin American tournament for the first time in the most extraordinary fashion.

Then, with an uncanny echo of the 1979 FA Cup final, when Manchester United had recovered in similar fashion to draw level with Arsenal at 2-2, the coolest head on the field swung the match back on to its original course.

At Wembley on that day it had been Brady laying on the winner for Sunderland to take the prize to Highbury. Now Maradona's simple but well-timed pass over the halfway line caught the German's fully committed to attack and left Burruchaga with a clear run towards Schumacher. Burruchaga gave the German goalkeeper no chance — not even the chance to occasion him bodily harm — and so the World Cup event went back to Buenos Aires instead of across the Atlantic to Frankfurt.

It was the obvious and the fairest result even if the final double twist to the plot had left the outcome briefly in doubt. It was fitting, too, that the most decisive blow should have been struck by Burruchaga, who on the day was best cast for the role of West Germany's executioner.

FINAL FACTS

	Ar'tina	W. Ger.
Goals	3	2
Shots on goal	6	2
Shots off target	4	7
Fouls	22	23
Corners	8	6
Yellow cards	4	2

• Leading World Cup scorers were:
6 — Lineker (England).
5 — Butragueno (Spain), Careca (Brazil), Maradona (Argentina).
4 — Elkjaer (Denmark), Altobelli (Italy), Belanov (Soviet Union), Valdano (Argentina).
3 — Voeller (West Germany), Jesper Olsen (Denmark), Ceulemans (Belgium), Claesen (Belgium).

Maradona, whose explosions of individual skill against England and Belgium had carried him to the final on a wave of universal acclaim — give or take the odd English cry of "Cheat" — stayed in the engine-room, checking on the gauges and the pistons and giving a less spectacular though no less valuable performance.

The argument that Argentina amounted to nothing more than Maradona and ten journeymen always did look thin but it needed Sunday's performance to convince the sceptics of their true worth as world champions.

Burrachaga had an exceptional game as did the rest of the Argentine midfield with Enrique, Olarticoechea and Giusti not far behind. Their ability to pressurise the Germans whenever possession was lost, fall back to broaden the defensive barrier, then break out swiftly and incisively once the ball had been regained enabled them to take a grip on the match which West Germany seldom challenged until the last chaotic quarter of an hour.

The Germans approached the game with their usual phlegmatic sense of discipline and organisation, preferring Berthold to Rolff to give them extra width, pace and penetration on the right. But until they scored there was little imagination in their football. Foerster had an excellent match in the middle of the defence but Magath and Eder were consistently outnumbered in midfield and Matthaeus's duties in staying goalside of Maradona prevented him from supporting attacks in his usual way.

Not that Maradona made an immediate impact. Indeed the first time he came to the attention was in the 19th minute when he was cautioned after throwing a tantrum when the referee ordered a German free-kick to be retaken because the defensive wall had not retreated the proper distance.

Three minutes later Matthaeus was cautioned for a crude tackle on Maradona and in the next instant the tension which had been building up in Argentina's play was eased by their first goal.

Burruchaga's free-kick from the right swung away from Schumacher who was left punching thin air as Brown headed the simplest of goals at the far post. After the way they had defended throughout the tournament it was a remarkably elementary way for the West Germans to fall behind.

They had a few chances of drawing level before half-time although Rummenigge should probably have scored after Berthold had nodded a free-kick back to him from the far post.

For the second half Franz Beckenbauer, the West German coach, replaced the struggling Allofs with Voeller, but the change made little immediate difference to the game's pattern except that as the Germans lumbered forward in greater numbers they were more likely to be caught thinly covered at the back. This is precisely what happened in the 56th minute when Argentina scored their second goal.

One tight turn by Maradona near the centre circle was enough to expose West Germany completely on the left. Maradona found Enrique who in turn set Valdano free on the wing. Cool finishing has not been Valdano's forte in this World Cup but now he calmly drew Schumacher off his line and slipped the ball past him inside the far post.

Beckenbauer promptly took off his draftsman, Magath, and brought on the old battering ram, Hoeness, who in the past had rescued the Germans from such fraught situations.

In the event Brehme's corners from the left did the trick. Voeller met the first with a header at the near post which might have been miscued but still set up the chance which Rummenigge snatched with his old voracity. That was in the 74th minute. Then, in the 82nd, Brehme swung his corner to the far post and this time Berthold's head reached the ball before the Argentine defence for Voeller to bring the scores level.

The rest happened so suddenly that the supporters of West Germany and Argentina were, still, in turn, rejoicing and despairing before they realised what had happened.

The final whistle saw the stadium enveloped in silver streamers as Maradona collected Argentina's golden prize. For Carlos Bilardo, the Argentine manager, the moment was a culmination of 3½ years' patient rebuilding of their squad in which his prime task was to marry the outstanding talents of Maradona with the newer players coming through. This tournament has borne evidence to Bilado's success in that direction.

France might have had more style and Brazil more ebullience but Argentina came to Mexico with one exceptional player backed by ever-improving teamwork — and on Sunday they gained their rightful reward.

ARGENTINA — Pumpido, Cuciuffo, Brown Ruggeri, Olarticoechea, Enrique, Giusti, Batista, Burruchaga (Trobbiani, 89min), Maradona (capt) Valdano
Substitutes: Islas, Clausen, Garre, Trobbiano, Pasculli
WEST GERMANY — Schumacher; Brehme, Eder, Jakobs, Foerster, Briegel, Berthold, Mathaeus, Magath (Hoeness, 62min), Rummenigge (capt), Allofs (Voeller 46min)
Substitutes: Immel, Rolff, Littbarski, Voeller, Hoeness
Referee: R. Arppi (Brazil)
Linesmen: B. Ulloa (Costa Rica), E Frederiksson (Sweden).

THIRD PLACE PLAY-OFF

Belgium (1) 2	France (2) 4
Ceulemans	Ferreri
Claesen	Papin
	Genghini
(a.e.t.; score at 90min 2-2)	Amoros (pen)

(Puebla, 30,000)

'Worthy champions' — Beckenbauer

FRANZ BECKENBAUER, the manager of the losing team, said Argentina were "worthy world champions and we are worthy vice-champions. We did everything to come back from two goals down, but in the end we punished ourselves. All three goals were avoidable."

He did not blame Schumacher. "He's one of the best in the World Cup, as he showed throughout this tournament. Perhaps this was not his lucky day, but we can't reproach him for that. We gambled in defence, and that's impossible against a team like Argentina."

Raul Alfonsin, the President of Argentina, added his opinion in a television link-up from Buenos Aires with: "We have so many problems to overcome, we need a bit of joy."

England desperately reshuffle the pack as new Botham row looms

ENGLAND'S cricketers enter the third and final Test against the Indians at Edgbaston with another new-look squad and the knowledge that their star all-rounder, Ian Botham, could have talked himself out of selection for the coming Test series against the New Zealanders.

Botham , who is already serving a two-months' ban from international and first-team county cricket after admitting that he had smoked cannabis, was reported at the weekend allegedly to have described England's Test selectors as drunken dodderers. In an after-dinner speech in Manchester he was alleged to have said: "They bring him (a selector) out of a loft, take the dust sheets off, give him a pink gin and sit him there. He can't go out of a 30-mile radius of London because he's usually too pissed to get back."

Later he said: "It was a jest. It was a private dinner where everyone had given an undertaking that it was not for publication. I suppose they will be bugging my bedroom next." Pater May, chairman of the five selectors, said: "Botham is entitled to his opinion. The disciplinary committee will do what they have to do." This was a reference to a committee of the Test and County Cricket Board, which was already due to meet this week and could well, after studying the reports, charge Botham with bringing the game into disrepute and could then extend the nine weeks' ban he is already serving.

Those same selectors — May, Phil Sharpe, Alan Smith, Fred Titmus, and Mike Gatting — made four changes for the third and final Test against the Indians, a series already won by the tourists. Out go Lamb, Smith, Slack and Lever, after the debacle of the second Test at Leeds. In come Neil Foster, Neal Radford, and Wayne Larkins alongside the expected return of the former captain, Gower, who missed the Leeds occasion through injury. Lamb goes after 45 consecutive appearances since 1982; Gooch is now the oldest consecutive time server, but with only 13 months to his credit. Larkins, a batsman, returns after an absence of five years — and even in the old days he hardly impressed at the international level although his ability is not doubted. Foster, a pace bowler, has played before, but Neal Radford, a pace bowler with Worcestershire, is making his first Test appearance.

Statistically, England could set the wrong sort of record this summer. If they go down to the Indians in the final Test they will have lost eight consecutive matches, including the West Indian tour, to equal the record set in 1921. And they still face the New Zealanders. By coincidence, in 1921 the selectors used 30 players. This year 22 have been used and there is time yet for more changes.

Domestic cricket had anticipated two other special occasions last week, the 150th century for Yorkshire's Geoff Boycott and the 100th for Dennis Amiss. But both will have to wait awhile, although Amiss went closest for Warwickshire, hitting 83 against Yorkshire, for whom Boycott, needing one century to overtake Herbert Sutcliffe's total, made only four. But it was one of those cricketing weeks dominated by the limited-over game, specifically the opening round of the knockout NatWest Trophy. For once the round was free of the kind of upsets of the establishment that normally give the tournament sparkle. From England's point of view the round was eminently satisfactory, with the captain, Gatting, making 118 not out for Middlesex against Northamptonshire, and Gower, the previous captain, making 121 for Leicestershire against Ireland.

Alan Dunn's DIARY

Barry McGuigan, who lost his World Boxing Association featherweight title in the 100°F heat of Las Vegas, as we reported last week, came out of hospital where he had been under observation and seemed to have regained his old humour when he talked of his brain scan: "They asked me to come again because they couldn't find my brain," said McGuigan. He blamed the heat for his defeat and he and his team admitted that he needed a long rest from boxing and training before possibly challenging Cruz to a re-run.

Seve Ballesteros came from five strokes behind at the start of the final round of the Monte Carlo Open to win his third consecutive golf tournament on the European Tour at the weekend. He had a closing round of 64, five under par for a total of 265, two better than Mark McNulty of South Africa.

As athletics works up to the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh, there was criticism this week by a leading athlete of fellow competitors. Steve Cram, the world record mile holder, ran the fastest mile of the season, 3min 51.43secs at Gateshead, then said: "It is ridiculous that Sebastian Coe and Steve Ovett couldn't be here. The Amateur Athletics Association should have been a lot sterner." At the time Coe was in Hengelo recording the season's fastest 1500 metres, 3:34.32, while Ovett was in Finland winning the 3,000 metres in 7:51.43. Cram said that the "preferential treatment" he felt that Coe and Ovett had been given by the selectors since 1982 had to end.

The Aga Khan's horse Shahrastani completed the double at the weekend by adding the Irish Derby to the Epsom Derby he won earlier in the month. It was a spectacular win at The Curragh for horse and jockey, Walter Swinburn, to finish a record eight lengths clear of Bonhomie. Through sponsorship from Budweiser this was Europe's richest race, with £300,000 on offer. The win brought Shahrastani's earnings to more than £600,000. His trainer, Michael Stoute, who had also won the race with Shergar and Shareef Dancer, has now taken £1.25 million in prize money with the flat season not half way through.

Britain — and many other parts of the world — can now look forward to a brief month or so rest from soccer after the month-long televised spectacular World Cup from Mexico. Last week's final stages were missed by the English, though Gary Lineker won the Golden Boot as the tournament's leading goalscorer with six. In the semi-finals West Germany beat France 2-0 and Argentina beat Belgium 2-0, both goals coming from Maradona. Lineker's reward for being the world's leading goalscorer could well be that he will leave Everton for one of the European clubs, possibly Barcelona, for about £3 million.

CRICKET:
John Player League

	P	W	L	NR	T	Pts
Northamptonshire (5)	6	5	1	0	0	20
Hampshire (3)	6	5	1	0	0	20
Nottinghamshire (12)	8	5	3	0	0	20
Essex (1)	7	4	2	1	0	18
Kent (10)	7	4	2	0	1	18
Somerset (10)	6	4	2	0	0	16
Yorkshire (6)	7	4	3	0	0	16
Warwickshire (6)	8	4	4	0	0	16
Glamorgan (14)	7	3	4	0	0	12
Leicestershire (6)	7	3	4	0	0	12
Sussex (2)	7	3	4	0	0	12
Derbyshire (4)	6	3	3	0	0	12
Middlesex (12)	7	2	4	1	0	10
Surrey (17)	7	2	4	0	1	10
Lancashire (14)	6	2	4	0	0	8
Worcestershire (6)	7	2	5	0	0	8
Gloucestershire (6)	7	1	6	0	0	4

1985 positions in brackets.